Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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FBIS-SOV-93-241 *17 December 1993*

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Preliminary Results

Russia's Choice To Have Greatest Number of Duma Seats

LD1612193993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1757 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] According to preliminary unofficial data which INTERFAX has received from various sources, not a single bloc or party which participated in the elections has received a decisive preponderance of votes for seats in the State Duma.

Russia's Choice will apparently receive the greatest number of seats - 94 (slightly more than 20%) (leader Yegor Gaydar). 56 candidates of this bloc have been elected in one-mandate election districts, on their federal list they may receive 38 seats.

The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (V. Zhirinovskiy) is second with 78 deputies - 17%. Due to the impressive results of the party's federal lists—more than 23% of electors' votes - they will be able to receive 67 seats in the State Duma. The Liberal Democrats received 11 more seats in the one-mandate districts.

According to final information, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (Gennadiy Zhyganov) can receive 64 seats or 14% (33 - on one-mandate and 31 - on the federal election district).

The Agrarian Party is to occupy 55 seats or 12% in the State Duma (correspondingly 26 and 29 seats).

The distribution of other political forces is as follows: Yavlinskiy's bloc - 28 seats (12 - on one-mandate districts and 16 - on the federal list), Russia's Women (Alevtina Fedulova - 24 (correspondingly 4 and 20), Party of Russian Unity and Concord (Sergey Shakhray - 22 (9 and 13), and Democratic Party of Russia (Nikolay Travkin) - 18 (7 and 11).

Thanks to the elections in one-mandate districts, Civic Union (Arkadiy Volskiy) has received 18 seats, Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms (Anatoliy Sobchak) - 8. The blocs Dignity and Charity and Russia's Future - New Names have received 3 seats each.

The so called "independent" candidates who have not used any official support of any party will take 27 seats in the State Duma.

Consequently, in the big picture, the democratically-oriented blocs (Russia's Choice, Party of Russian Unity and Concord, Yavlinskiy's bloc, and Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms) can receive 152 seats or slightly more than 33%. The communists and agrarians have 119 places or a bit more than 26%.

Central Electoral Commission Reports Latest Results

LD1712102593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1001 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—The Central Electoral Commission specified the results of elections in 190 out of 225 constituencies.

Liberal Democratic Party—23.51 per cent,
Russia's Choice—14.83,
Communist Party—13.32,
Agrarian Party—8.51,
Women of Russia—8.29,
Yabloko /Yavlinskiy/—7.57,
Party of Russian Unity and Accord—6.82,
Democratic Party—5.50,

***

Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms—3.94,
Civic Union—1.87,
Future of Russia - New Names—1.24,
Constructive Ecology Movement—0.73,
Dignity and Charity—0.68.

Moscow City Duma Election Results Reported

LD1612222693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2023 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Only 50.97 percent of Moscow's electorate of 6,873,153 took part in the election to the Moscow City Duma on December 12, according to the Moscow City Election Commission.

A release sent by the commission to INTERFAX says 94.28 percent of the ballot papers that had been cast were valid, and 5.72 percent - over 202,000 papers - invalid.

Thirty-five candidates, including seven women, of a total of 161, have been elected.

The age of the newly-elected deputies ranges from 28 to 61. Twenty-two of them are under 40.

Nineteen of the 35 future deputies were proposed by Russia's Choice, nine by electors' meetings, two by the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, another two by the Party of Russian Unity Concord, also two by the Moscow Civic Union electoral association, and one by the Citizens for Democracy electoral association.

58 Percent Support Constitution; 8 Regions Yet To Report

LD1712104293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] According to the Central Electoral Commission [CEC], over 58 percent of those who participated in the referendum on 12 December supported the draft Russian constitution. This was announced at a working session of the CEC on Friday [17 December], Interfax reported. It was pointed out at the session that the final

results of the referendum cannot yet be calculated since eight regions have still not sent in their official voting returns.

Further Breakdown of Results Minus Eight Regions

LD1712121593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1119 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Official results of voting in the referendum on the constitution cannot be reported as yet due to eight regions having not officially submitted their reports. This is the essence of what was said at the Friday [17 December] meeting of the Central Election Commission (CEC).

A total of 58 Mn [million] voters, or 55 percent of the electorate, are reported to have voted in the referendum, 32.9 Mn, or 58.43 percent voting for the constitution.

Reports on parliamentary elections have arrived from 62 regions; four more reached the CEC Friday morning but have not been processed yet. The remaining data were faxed. Final results on voting in election to the upper house of the Federal Assembly in the Moscow Region are not available because the data on voting abroad had been delayed. In 85 precincts 169 deputies have been elected. Elections were not held in Chechnya, Tatarstan and Chelyabinsk Region. One deputy instead of two was elected to the upper house in the Yamalo- Nenets Autonomous Area.

Final official results of elections to the State Duma are not available because only about one half of regional commissions have sent in their reports while the others have sent only faxes and telegrams. Out of 225 deputies, 219 have been elected in single- seat constituencies.

It was reported at the meeting that over 1100 observers from 88 countries and 37 international organizations monitored the elections.

Observer Confirms Elections Free, 'Orderly'

LD1712123393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1119 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Russia's first democratic elections passed off in an orderly way, freely and justly in the Khabarovsk Territory, Japanese observers say who monitored the campaigning and elections in Khabarovsk.

Head of the Japanese delegation Toshio Inae told Interfax that members of his group saw only insignificant deviations from the rules such as filling out the ballots outside booths or presence of several people in them simultaneously. Otherwise, the elections met democratic standards.

Toshio Inae was struck by low turn out of young people. "In all polling stations we went to we saw chiefly middle-aged and old people. For this reason the report of the regional commission that nearly one half of the registered voters did not attend the elections was no surprise to us," said the head of the Japanese observer team.

Corrections to Candidate List

944F0221A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Dec 93 p 3

[Corrections to candidate lists issued by the Central Electoral Commission; published in the "Candidates by Single-Mandate Electoral Districts" supplement to the Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT on 8 December]

[Text]

Corrections to the List of Registered Candidates for Deputy Seats in the Federal Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA [on 30 November on pages 4 and 5].

Ingushskiy Electoral District No. 6

Kostoyev Isa Magometovich, department chief, Office of the Procurator General of the Russian Federation

Kabardino-Balkarskiy No. 7

Buranov As'an Labiyevich, physician, Polyclinic No. 5, Nalchik

Mariyskiy No. 12

Popov Nikandr Semenovich, doctoral student, Institute for Ethnic Cultural Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences

Tuninskiy No. 17

Ondar Nikolay Aldyn-Oolovich, chairman, legislation committee of the Republic of Tuva Supreme Soviet

Khakasskiy No. 19

Shchapov Yuriy Stepanovich, general director, Khakasugol Company AO [joint-stock society]

Yeniseyskiy No. 24

Romanov Petr Vasilyevich, general director, Krasnoyarsk Chemical Combine Yenisey PO [industrial association]

Belgorodskiy No. 31

Pigorev Vladimir Grigoryevich, general director, Gelios

Ivanovskiy No. 37

Tokayev Yuriy Alimbekovich, chairman of the board of directors, Kranex Machine-Building Company

Kaliningradskiy No. 39

Semenov Yuriy Nikolayevich, temporarily unemployed

Kamchatskiy No. 41

Vanin Mikhail Aleksandrovich, deputy head of administration, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy; chairman of the property management committee, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy

Grigoryeva Ludmila Alekseyevna, deputy chief of the Central Bank Main Administration for Kamchatka Oblast

Yefimov Vladimir Svyatoslavovich, editor in chief of the TVK Television Company

Medzhidov Vagif Gasan ogly, president, Leila Company

Kostromskoy No. 44

Gotovtsev Aleksandr Nikolayevich, general director, Kostroma branch of the Velta Know-How Center of the Russian Federation

Khapkova Lyubov Borisovna, owner, private enterprise Rossiya

Kurganskiy No. 45

Bogomolov Oleg Alekseyevich, chairman, Kurgan Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies

Kurskiy No. 46

Kureninov Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, representative of the president of the Russian Federation in Kursk Oblast

Usenkov Leonid Nikolayevich, general director, Linkor Agency

Novosibirskiy No. 54

Manokhin Anatoliy Nikolayevich, representative of the president of the Russian Federation in Novosibirsk Oblast

Penzenskiy No. 58

Didichenko Georgiy Ivanovich, temporarily unemployed

Papshev Sergey Yefimovich, chief of administration, Pachelmskiy Rayon in Penza Oblast

Ryazanskiy No. 62

Abramov Anatoliy Nikolayevich, general director, TORFMASH [peat-mining machinery plant] AO

Sakhalinskiy No. 65

Dolgikh Nikolay Petrovich, chief of administration, Kholmsk and its rayon

Smolenskiy No. 67

Semenov Mikhail Igorevich, temporarily unemployed

Tambovskiy No. 68

Makarov Viktor Nikitich, director, M-Koks AO

Tomskiy No. 70

Popov Oleg Vladimirovich, associate professor, Siberian Medical University; director, TOO [Limited Liability Partnership] STK [expansion not given]

Shaydullin Boris Kimovich, chairman, Foreign Economic Relations Committee of the Tomsk Oblast Administration

Ulyanovskiy No. 73

Povalyayev Vladimir Pavlovich, director, Mir Joint-Stock Company

Chitinskiy No. 75

Shekemov Vladimir Pavlovich, president, Zabaykalstroykompleks AO

Moskovskiy Gorodskoy No. 77

Komchatov Vladimir Fedorovich, representative of the president of the Russian Federation in the city of Moscow

Aginskiy Buryatskiy No. 80

Tsedashiyev Gurodarma, chief of administration, Aginskiy Buryatskiy Autonomous Okrug

List of Registered Candidates for Deputy Seats in the Federal Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation not included in the list published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA

Gorno-Altayskiy Electoral District No. 4

Kergilov Sergey Ivanovich, director, Gorno-Altaysk branch of the Sibir-ASKO insurance company

Krasnodarskiy No. 23

Dyakonov Vasiliy Nikolayevich, vice president, Rossiyskaya Korporatsiya Montazhspetsstroy

Belgorodskiy No. 31

Bezymyannyy Vladimir Mikhaylovich, writer, entrepreneur

Saratovskiy No. 64

Davydov Valeriy Nikolayevich, chairman of the board of directors, VNIPI [All-Union Scientific Research and Design Institute] Inform-BUTEK

Ust-Ordynskiy Buryatskiy No. 85

Bagatayev Aleksey Nikolayevich, chief of administration, Ust-Ordynskiy Buryatskiy Autonomous Okrug

Corrections to the List of Registered Candidates for Deputy Seats in the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation Published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA

REPUBLIC OF BASHKORTOSTAN

Kalininskiy District No. 4

Arinin Aleksandr Nikolayevich, chief of the Department of the History of Motherland and Culture, Ufa branch of the State Academy of Household and Consumer Services

REPUBLIC OF MARI EL

Mariyskiy District No. 19

Popov Anatoliy Gennadyevich, director, Yoshkar-Ola footwear factory

KRASNODAR KRAY

Prikubanskiy District No. 43

Gritsan Vladimir Vasilyevich, director of the legal center, AKKOR's [Association of Private Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives of Russia] Kuban Association of Peasant (Private) Farms

Kiriy Petr Yakovlevich, chairman, collective agricultural enterprises Cheburgolskoye

Osadchiy Ivan Pavlovich, senior consultant, the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation

Tuapsinskiy District No. 45

Idzhyan Ashot Aramovich, general director, Gorizont AO

VOLGOGRAD OBLAST

Tsentralnyy District No. 72

Mazayev Vladimir Dmitriyevich, registered as deputy by a voter group

IVANOVO OBLAST

Ivanovskiy Okrug No. 79

Fedotov Valeriy Pavlovich, senior instructor, Ivanovo State University

KIROV OBLAST

Kirovskiy Okrug No. 93

Savin Yegor Ilyich, director, Kotelniki sewing factory

Savin Nikolay Andreyevich, deputy chief of administration, Kirov Oblast

Slobodchikov Viktor Alekseyevich, director, Verkhnekamsk phosphorus mine

Frenkel Marat Osherovich, chief, center for hydrometeorology and monitoring the state of the environment

Shalayev Vladimir Anatolyevich, chief of the department for centralized technical control of the northern power grid, Kirovenergo AO

MOSCOW OBLAST

Dmitrovskiy District No. 105

Belekhov, Sergey Yuryevich, chairman, Sergiyevo-Posadskiy Rayon Property Fund, Moscow Oblast

Istrinskiy District No. 106

Nigkoyev Sergey Yuriyevich, general director, Mosagromontazh AO

Lyuberetskiy Okrug No. 108

Guskov Anaatoliy Vladimirovich, president, TOO (RSO) Ramenskoye

Platoshkin Nikolay Nikolayevich, attache, Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs

NIZHNIY NOVGOROD OBLAST

Avtozavodskiy District No. 177

Slyusarev Anatoliy Sidorovich, professor, Waterway Transportation Academy

PSKOV OBLAST

Pskovskiy Disrtict No. 141

Glazychev Nikolay Nikolayevich, deputy director for legal affairs, Severo-Zapadnyy voucher investment fund

SVERDLOVSK OBLAST

Ordzhonikidzevskiy District No. 164

Borisov Mikhail Orestovich, registered as deputy from the Democratic Party of Russia

Isakov Vladimir Borisovich, registered as deputy from the Agrarian Party of Russia

Martyushov Sergey Nikolayevich, registered as deputy from the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc

TULA OBLAST

Tulskiy District No. 176

Shaydenko Nadezhda Anatolyevna, dean, Tula State Pedagogical Institute Imeni L.N. Tolstogo

TYUMEN OBLAST

Tyumenskiy District No. 179

Bokin Dmitriy Ivanovich, deputy chief of administration, Tyumen

YAROSLAVL OBLAST

Kirovskiy District No. 189

Tishkovskaya Yevgeniya Leonidovna, engineer-technologist, Yaroslavlnefteorgsintez AO

CITY OF MOSCOW

Babushkinskiy District No. 191

Smolyanoy Artem Stanislavovich, deputy chairman, youth movement in support of people's party Free Russia

Troshkin Nikolay Nikitich, attorney, AOZT [closely-held joint-stock society] SET [expansion not given]

CITY OF ST. PETERBURG

Severo-Vostochnyy District No. 208

Yuzhnyy District No. 211

Zorin Yuriy Alekseyevich, AOZT INDEKS Company

Levashev Aleksey Vladimirovich, political affairs director, agency for the reconstruction of St. Petersburg's historic center

Topor Lev Abramovich, president, Top Games AO

NENETS AUTONOMOUS OKRUG

Nenetskiy District No. 218

Chilingarov Artur Nikolayevich, registered as deputy by a voter group

KHANTY-MANSI AUTONOMOUS OKRUG

Nizhnevartovskiy District No. 231

Yasaveyev Khamid Nurmukhametovich, director, condensate stabilization plant of Surgutgazprom DP [Extraction Enterprise]

List of Registered Candidates for Deputy Seats in the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation Not Included in the List Published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA

UDMURT REPUBLIC

Izhevskiy Okrug No. 29

Berkutov Sergey Georgiyevich, chairman of a permanent commission, Izhevsk City Soviet of People's Deputies

Klimantova Galina Ivanovna, chief of the family issues department of the Udmurt Republic Council of Ministers

Shchekurin Vladimir Mikhaylovich, chief specialist, Udmurt Republic State Committee for the Administration of State Property

VOLGOGRAD OBLAST

Volzhskiy Okrug No. 69

Kandaurova Tatyana Ivanovna, temporarily unemployed

IVANOVO OBLAST

Kineshemskiy District No. 80

Zenkin Sergey Anatolyevich, jurist; instructor, Ivanovo State University

Zotina Nadezhda Mikhaylovna, director, secondary school No. 2, Puchezh

Spanovskiy Nikolay Stanislavovich, attorney, legal consultations center No. 2

TULA OBLAST

Tulskiy District No. 176

Kostyukhin Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich, vice president, Russian Paper AO

CITY OF ST. PETERSBURG

Yuzhnyy District No. 211

Yemets Anatoliy Fedorovich, general director, Yemets Concern

Corrections Continue

The Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation reports: In keeping with Article 25 of the Statute on Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993, Anatoliy Vladimirovich **Mostovoy** has been removed from the federal list of candidates for deputies to the State Duma from the Party of Russian Unity and Accord electoral coalition on the basis of the decision of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord's Coordinating Council dated 7 December 1993.

In keeping with Article 25 of the Statute on Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993, Lyudmila Aleksandrovna **Zhadanova** has been removed from the federal list of candidates for deputies to the State Duma from the Communist Party of the Russian Federation electoral coalition on the basis of the decision of the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee Presidium dated 8 December 1993.

Official, Regional Reaction

Zorkin Says Constitution Not Adopted, Yeltsin Should Resign

LD1612152593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1457 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] "The new Russian Constitution was not legally adopted and the man who proposed it, the president, should resign," former Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin told INTERFAX Tuesday.

He emphasized that the Referendum Act that had been signed by Boris Yeltsin had not been repealed and so remained in force. By that legislation, Zorkin recalled, the Constitution will be regarded as adopted if over one half of the electorate voted for it. But, according to the early reports, just over one quarter of the electorate voted for it in the December 12 referendum. The fact that the president had canceled the earlier referendum legislation and introduced other rules has no legal significance, the former CC Chairman thinks.

"The situation at hand is legally dangerous. A Fundamental Law passed by a minority is being imposed on the majority of the population. This is a time bomb," Zorkin said. He has reports that numerous parties want to raise the issue in the new parliament.

Furthermore, Zorkin noted, early returns suggest that the new Constitution had not been passed in about one half of republics incorporated in Russia, even by new rules. "The Federative Treaty which was signed by constituent parts of the Federation and Yeltsin is not to be changed unilaterally. If the powers of the constituent parts in the new Constitution are significantly curbed in comparison with the Federative Treaty, then these restrictions are not legally binding. How can we extract ourselves from this predicament?" Zorkin wanted to know.

The December 12 voting on the Constitution, he thinks, shows only that the people have rejected the government's and president's policies, in particular what the executive branch did from September 21 to October 4, 1993." In this situation "it is the duty of the president to resign as de Gaulle did when he lost a referendum," Zorkin said.

Poltoranin Wants 'More Rigorous Policy' Against Zhirinovskiy

PM1612145793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 1

[Commentary by Mikhail Poltoranin: "They Must Seize the Initiative"]

[Text] Today the state of society is obvious—shock after 12 December. Many people could not imagine that Russia was so susceptible to fascism. With his results in the elections Zhirinovskiy has, at it were, set bells ringing. It is already clear that these bells could be ringing tomorrow throughout Russia. If, of course, we do not change the situation radically.

The press is wrong to have opted for a tone of panic. The democrats have let in a mighty blow through their defenses, but they are still on their feet. Allowing for the first-past-the-post voting system, there will be more deputies from the "Russia's Choice" bloc in the State Duma than Zhirinovskiy's "falcons." Now work to create effective resistance to communo-fascism must begin.

Areas of collaboration have been defined here—enough has been said about them already. At a session of the "Russia's Choice" bloc executive committee we unanimously decided that there would be no cooperation with Zhirinovskiy's faction. A number of rumors have been circulating about my personal position. Well, my position is as follows: The only thing we can allow ourselves is work to split that faction and to "siphon off" individual members.

The authorities must seize the initiative from the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia and deprive it of its social base. This is possible if we seriously tackle crime and if we stop the spread of arrogant bureaucracy. The people who voted for Zhirinovskiy were those who were tired of impotent government. Since the new Constitution has consolidated the power of the president and the government, no one can now prevent them from carrying out a more rigorous policy toward the political and criminal mafia.

Chernomyrdin Aide Blames Inflation for Results

PM1612131793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Andrey Illarionov, leader of the prime minister's analysis and planning group: "Inflation Drives Voters Into the Arms of Political Adventurists"]

[Text] The final results of the elections have yet to be summed up, but it is already clear that fascism won a major victory while not only the reformers and democrats but the whole of Russian civil society suffered defeat. The results of the elections will be carefully studied, but a number of urgent conclusions must be drawn immediately.

Unquestionably very grave damage was done by the lack of unity, uncoordinated actions, and outright strife among the democrats, who were wallowing in euphoria. A negative role was played by reassuring public opinion polls, followed by the moratorium on the publication of their results, which became increasingly alarming.

But the basic question is: Why did millions of voters not only listen to what Zhirinovskiy had to say but also heed him, trust him, and vote for him? Why did they turn away from the democrats, to whom only recently they had given such solid support? Why did they turn away from the government's socioeconomic course?

The main reason is inflation. No other problems can rival it for acuteness. No other problem destroys the elementary foundations of the life of all society and makes every citizen feel defenseless in the face of an invisible thief who steals into people's pockets so constantly and insolently. It is inflation that is driving millions of people into the arms of political adventurists.

Inflation entered the people's life at the same time as democracy and they have begun to see it as synonymous with democracy. It is the democratic government that for

two years running promised to combat it, and it is that government which twice failed to keep its promises, or, in simpler terms, deceived the people. The people, who trusted the democrats in August 1991 and continued to trust them in January 1992 and even in December 1992, gave them one last chance in April 1993 in the referendum. This was indeed the last chance. And anyone who for some reason thought that this trust would be eternal has paid a harsh price for this in December 1993 and will clearly pay quite a bit more.

But Russian inflation did not arise out of thin air. Beyond any question, one of its main authors is the Central Bank. It is thanks to its tireless concern and to the superb professionalism of chief banker Viktor Gerashchenko that the 1992 financial stabilization was crushed, inflation was unleashed and is being maintained, and a year ago the country was almost plunged into the spiral of hyperinflation. Gerashchenko organized the mutual offsetting of debts, monetary reforms, and the free financing of the ruble zone which fanned inflation in Russia.

But V. Gerashchenko is not the only hero of our "inflationary miracle." Our powerful lobbies, especially the agrarian lobby, must certainly share the creator's laurels with the Central Bank chairman. It is the lobbies which, by begging and suborning, through blackmail and threats, pilfered the meager state budget and grew fat on insane handouts wrested from the hands of a weak government. It is they who, by taking real money from the budget sphere, from pensioners, teachers, doctors, and students, made it necessary to circulate billions and trillions of unsecured money.

A contribution to the "common inflationary cause" was also made by the government itself—by its hesitations, inconsistency, compromises, and sometimes overt corruption. How many decrees have there been handing out benefits, privileges, quotas, licenses, subsidies, grants, tax breaks, and cheap or even free loans, each of which entails figures with a lot of noughts? Who made the insane decisions on setting the grain purchase price at the world level, on fantastic benefits for oil and gas industry workers, on unrealizable programs?

The elaborators of the president's "social" edicts also played their part. Their overt populism simultaneously cranked up inflation and kindled public discontent at the government's inability to make payments that were known to be unrealistic in terms of both timing and size. The creators of these documents were engaged in the worst of activities—public deception of the population. In essence, were these documents very different from Zhirinovskiy's promises?

When they came to power the democrats had a tremendous advantage—they did not lie to the people. However difficult it was, they told people the truth, and people believed them. This belief has been undermined. The people were paid for their support in the referendum with the criminal monetary reform, for which no one has yet been held responsible, and with continuing inflation.

There is one more lesson that must be learned from the elections. Inflation, from being an extremely important economic problem, has now become the main political problem. It is no longer a question of the survival of this government or this president. It is a question of the survival of democracy in Russia in general.

Inflation must be destroyed. Not reduced, not lowered by a few percentage points a month, but totally destroyed. At any price, by any means. The suppression of inflation is not just one of many desirable aims, "one direction in the activity" of the state. A harsh, extremely tough anti-inflation policy is not merely a wish, not the whim of people who have read the wise books of the "monetarists," but essentially the only imperative demand of the time and of the present political situation. If "monetarism doesn't work," there will be fascism. Make your choice, comrades and gentlemen.

We must pay any economic price in order to defeat inflation. We must once and for all put a stop to the illusion that inflation can be defeated while maintaining the present level of production and the present level of employment. We must quite soberly realize that it is impossible to crush inflation without a further decline in production and without thousands of bankruptcies and mass unemployment.

If you wish not to have unemployment, inflation is guaranteed, just as the advent of fascism is guaranteed. In 1933 Germany wanted not to have 6 million unemployed. Twelve years later they had 6 million dead. Those are the alternatives.

The sociopolitical danger of a decline in production and high unemployment should not be overestimated. We should not give way to blackmail and intimidation with the threat of millions of unemployed. History can show dozens of cases of stable democratic societies with high and even growing levels of unemployment.

However, history cannot show a single example of a democratic society that has survived hyperinflation. History cannot show a single case of a government that has allowed a high level of inflation for any length of time remaining in power. While unemployment makes some of the population opponents of democracy, inflation makes the entire people enemies of democracy to a man. Continued inflation, beyond any question, will sweep aside the government, the president, and democratic society.

The defeat of inflation is by no means all that is needed for the defense of democracy. But unless inflation is crushed all the rest is meaningless. Either we defeat inflation, or it will defeat us.

Defense Minister Aide on Speculation About Army Vote

PM1612194193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "From Authoritative Sources" rubric: "The Army and the Elections"]

[Text] Yelena Agapova, public relations and press aide to the Russian Federation defense minister, stated that it is intolerable and irresponsible to draw conclusions to the effect that most servicemen allegedly voted only for the leader of the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], as some mass media are now reporting. It is known that the vast majority of servicemen voted at public [otkrytyy] polling stations, which in itself indicates that it was impossible to keep any kind of tally.

Likewise, references in the press to statistics on the results of voting by servicemen at restricted [zakrytyy] polling stations are unsubstantiated. They cannot reflect a true and complete picture of the results of the ballot in the Armed Forces as the number of servicemen voters who voted at restricted polling stations constituted less than 1 percent of the total numerical strength of the Armed Forces. Moreover, Russian Federation civilians living in units' deployment areas also voted at restricted polling stations with the servicemen.

Attempts to categorize voters along professional or departmental lines, and political speculation on the outcome of the elections, are in fact an encroachment upon citizens' right and freedom to express their will.

Public Figures Ponder Yeltsin Options

PM1612114593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 1

[Roundup of various public figures' views compiled by Vasiliy Ustyuzhanin: "Choice for the President: Should He Give His Hand to Zhirinovskiy or an Assault Rifle to Novodvorskaya? What Should Yeltsin Do With the New Parliament? Opinions of Well-Known Politicians and Experts Divided"]

[Text] Vasiliy Lipitskiy, chairman of the People's Party "Free Russia":

Working with an opposition parliament is a fairly common situation in world practice.

But regrettably elements of confrontation have hitherto prevailed in Russian practice. The president was able in a short period to turn the Congress and the Supreme Soviet, which elected him as their chairman and opened the way for him to become president, into just an organ of opposition. The situation is even more complex now. The new parliament will initially comprise people who do not agree with the president's policy and who based their election campaigns on criticizing that policy. Nevertheless cooperation with that kind of parliament is not unfeasible—provided of course that there is goodwill and a lot of patience. Cooperation requires constant work, including by individuals, with deputies, with factions, committees, and commissions to implement the requisite decisions, coordinate positions, and seek compromises. Can you imagine the current president in that role? With difficulty.

Sergey Kurginyan, political scientist:

The new parliament consists of four blocs—these are the communist bloc (the Russian Communist Party, the Agrarian Party), the Gorbachev bloc ("Yabloko," the Democratic Party of Russia, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord), Zhirinovskiy's party, and "Russia's Choice." Yeltsin has several options as to how to act.

The first is to enter into an alliance with Zhirinovskiy. He would then win undoubted opposition from a Gorbachevian-communist alliance and find himself in the same position as Gorbachev in late March 1991.

He could try to suppress opposition while relying on Zhirinovskiy—rapidly dissolve the parliament and take responsibility himself. But he would thus be narrowing his social base.

Another option is for him to remain above the struggle and do a balancing act. In that case he needs the parliament as a cover for an alliance with the old elite—the party, military, and special service elite.

Therefore in this situation Yeltsin has only option—to have patience and come to an arrangement. The new reality must be endured.

Valeriya Novodvorskaya, leader of "Democratic Union":

It is quite obvious that Yeltsin is doomed to play the role of Hindenburg, who exactly 60 years ago peacefully handed Germany over to Hitler. We have not only a Hitler—Zhirinovskiy—but also a unique situation, where communists will not fight fascists. They have already formed an alliance.

As soon as the Red-Brown Reichstag meets it will release the "[illegible] president" and the "parallel" power ministers from Sefortovo. As soon as the power structures saw the figures for support for the LDPR, they immediately drew practical conclusions. That is why it is already impossible to try to create an antifascist front. It is too late.

According to Article 13 of the constitution Zhirinovskiy's LDPR and all communist groupings can be banned since they preach ethnic and social enmity. That can be done by presidential edict.

If this does not happen, gas chambers, crematoriums, and prison walls lie in store for us. And I would tell Boris Nikolayevich to forget about the word "democracy." Russia has demonstrated that it is incapable of democracy. The people who voted for the Communists and the LDPR are not the people, they are the mob. A mob likes fascism. A National Guard should therefore be set up

within a few weeks. We will all join it immediately. If it is equipped with modern weapons and aviation, we will have something with which to defend ourselves.

Aleksey Kiva, political scientist:

In response to the question as to what the president should do, there is the unknown quantity—Zhirinovskiy. How will he behave? Will he behave as usual or will he throw aside his mask as he did at the Constitutional Conference and responded appropriately to reality.

The second aspect of the problem is this: How will the democrats behave? Will the search for culprits stop? It is time to move on from a reaction based on emotion and shock to sober calculation.

Third, a great deal will depend on the stance espoused by the president himself—how he finds his feet in the new circumstances.

The president must enter into discussion with the people.... He must tell them about and convince them of the danger of an upsurge in quasi-neofascism. Since it may be Vladimir Volfovich today but someone even more terrifying may gain a foothold tomorrow: Successors may emerge.

It is important to use the two-year period assigned for the parliament's activity to bring society together via the parliament, rather than split it.

Aleksandr Prokhanov, writer:

In all probability Yeltsin has personally had a very tragic time since the dissolution of the parliament. A repetition of this tragedy would be a nightmare for him. I therefore think that he must take very, very good care of the Duma just as a wounded man takes care of a plaster on a wound.

Based on the political-psychological situation he must compromise with the Duma and ease the clashes by making concessions.

And the Duma must take care of itself—it must not ask for trouble, but be mindful of the fate of the Supreme Soviet. Over the first few months it will not enter into confrontation with the president, it will not move onto psychological warfare.

Disaster will infiltrate the Duma by around late February. The terrible process of the death of society will start. Then the Duma will not be a joke, but a tragedy. Today the most prosperous sectors of industry are coming to a standstill. That will cause acute conflict within the Duma—conflict that cannot in effect be resolved.

Toward the end of winter the level of confrontation will be even more acute than in September or October 1993. And this confrontation will occur against the backdrop of a far more tragic socioeconomic situation. If the president wants to escape from the crisis by the September-October method, he will no longer have the arsenal to do so.

Vasiliy Selyunin, journalist:

The president must work with this parliament despite the fact that in terms of membership it has proved worse than was intended. I thought that by virtue of its history Russia had been reliably inoculated against fascism. But I was wrong. Democrats must join forces to stop fascism. Yesterday we, the old and new democrats, created the Antifascist Front and adopted an appeal to Russia's citizens.

Nevertheless I see no particular difficulties for the president in working with the new parliament. Despite everything, the fascists will not have a majority in the State Duma. The president must insist on having his own way and form a government of professionals. We would of course like the government to be uniformly reformist, but that will be harder to achieve now. But it is still possible. Chernomyrdin suits everyone. And that is important.

The "Russia's Choice" bloc is entering parliament for constructive work and cooperation with the executive.

Petr Filippov, economist:

It is not only Boris Nikolayevich, but also the sociopolitical organizations championing the course of reform that have to work with the new parliament. And this means that we must do everything we can to influence deputies' positions.

We must mount an intellectual offensive on the people's representatives. It is necessary to create a situation whereby a deputy cannot avoid the figures that provide a comparative picture of the results of economic policy in Ukraine and Russia, or in Estonia and Russia, and analyze the real reasons for the crisis of nonpayment or the unchecked provision of credit.

It is necessary, however, to break down the language barrier that exists between macroeconomic specialists and citizens. We must not allow the situation we had before, when the prime minister said that, God willing, 5 percent of the people in a room would understand what he was saying.

Second. The president must be fairly tough. He must impose a tough veto on those draft laws that will disable reforms. It is necessary to be consistent and respond less to emotional and political speeches.

'Diplomat in Charge of Relations With Baltics' Comments

LD1612220093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] The policies the Baltic governments pursued vis-a-vis the Russian-speaking population made "an

impressive contribution" to Vladimir Zhirinovsky's electoral success, a senior Russian diplomat in charge of relations with Baltic countries told INTERFAX. In his opinion, the governments of those countries, notably of Latvia and Estonia, sometimes "do not know what they are doing. It is not only that many Russians in the Baltic states voted for the LDPR [Liberal- Democratic Party]—they are not that numerous (nearly 70,000—IF). But by their policies, the governments had for a long time been playing into the hands of Russian nationalists who say that protecting the Russian-speaking population in former Soviet republics was a high priority of theirs. This position attracted numerous voters in both Russia and those republics."

The ministry official also said that the information Baltic diplomats in Russia were sending to their superiors was "not exactly objective. This probably explains why the policies of the Baltic countries vis-a-vis Russia are so short-sighted." The diplomat said that Baltic governments "should bet on real democratic forces in Russia and try not to give ammunition to their opponents lest their own countries should suffer." He believes that the emergence of a strong "anti-democratic wing" in the Russian parliament might bring about "new factors that could at least obstruct a stable Russian foreign policy if not change it." For this reason, he added, Estonia and Latvia "should not delay" the signing of troop withdrawal agreements.

Political Expert Fears Zhirinovskiy-Communist Alliance

LD1612202193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1452 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS— "Power struggle for a victory at the 1996 presidential elections will be largely localized in a new parliament", Aleksandr Yakovlev, a full member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, said in an interview with TASS. He believes that "a second echelon of the Liberal Democratic Party" is likely to shortly appear on the political scene to fight for "gaining positions in 1996".

Predicting a possible course of developments, Yakovlev noted that "a split within the camp of democrats will widen, while communists will pose as centrists who have rejected the extremes called for both by reformers and Bolsheviks, and now come out for pragmatism".

The political guru views communists as the main potential danger for society, since "after changing their mottoes, they will seek to return to power at any cost, for which they will try to find a leader without a Bolshevik record and nominate him for presidential elections".

Speaking about the line-up of the new parliament, Yakovlev said it "will heavily depend on the stand taken by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation". He supposed that "communists may make contacts with the Liberal Democratic Party, since they have already united in the struggle against democrats with the National Salvation Front, which is quite close to the Liberal Democratic Party as for their ideologic views". Yakovlev is firmly convinced that "in essence, bolshevism is the same fascism". [sentence as received] He believes that "symbiosis between bolshevism and fascists" poses the greatest danger for Russia's reforms.

Gorbachev Views Elections, Gives 'Advice' to West

AU1712110493 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 17 Dec 93 p 2

[Article by former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev: "The Danger Is Not Fascism"]

[Text] What was bound to happen did happen. I predicted that these elections would produce surprising results. It is still too early to draw final conclusions—the data available seem to have been "handled" by someone.

Today, everyone is talking about Zhirinovskiy. However, it would be a serious mistake to assume that the Russian citizens had lost their clear reason and their sense of reality so much that they would vote for Zhirinovskiy's slogans and promises: "The return of Poland and Finland," "expanding Russia to the warm waters," changing Ukraine and the Caucasus into "Russian protectorates," and solving all Russian problems within a few months.

In fact, the election result was an expression of protest and disillusionment, for which those are responsible who claimed they had the monopoly of democracy, caused the failure of the reform movement, and brought 30 percent of the population below, and 30 percent a little above, the subsistence level. That is why I do not see a reason to interpret the success of Zhirinovskiy's party as a real fascist danger for Russia.

In reality, we are witnessing the end of an illusion that the leaders of this country harbored over the past two years—the illusion that there were no alternatives and that they had to impose their own program upon the people at any cost. The stability that the president, the prime minister, and their deputies in parliament promised time and again has never come. The crisis is continuously increasing.

This also explains why half the electorate did not go to vote, and, regarding the assessment of the political leadership, the other half was split into two almost equally strong parts. The army voted for Zhirinovskiy.

The current leadership should now think about what should be done. Above all, it must cope with the economic situation. This situation will dictate the future political coalitions that are absolutely unpredictable at this point. In the near future, a sound and conciliatory solution must be found.

However, many people—including the president—are apparently unable to control themselves. Their main goal is to stay in power at any price, and they are even ready to sacrifice democracy and the people's wellbeing for it. This is also the reason why so much effort was invested in the Constitution, which gives the president uncontrolled power. It is typical for Yeltsin's spokesman announcing cynically shortly after the ballot stations were closed that the president would even be prepared to cooperate with Zhirinovskiy. The latter unconditionally supported the Constitution from the start. It also fits excellently into his "ideology"; he hopes to be able to make use of it himself soon.

The success of Syuganov's communists is an integral part of this political picture. Even though they have different starting points, Zhirinovskiy and Syuganov are jointly planning to bring pressure to bear on the president. It may be true that Yeltsin has the constitutional power to pass over parliament. But, after the October events, he will not get rid of it easily, all the less so since it is now legitimized by the elections.

Is a return to the communist past possible? I do not think this can happen. No power is strong enough to achieve this. The danger lies elsewhere—in a fight of everyone against everyone else, the military could also intervene. Even without using force, it could make the civilian power hand over the helm.

Some advice to the West: Give your support to a certain policy, and not to certain political leaders. Otherwise, you could run the risk of reducing the number of people qualified for dialogue with you to zero. You could also find out that the very people that you have supported pursue a policy other than the one that you consider desirable.

Gorbachev Advisor Considers Zhirinovskiy Dangerous

AU1712105093 Hamburg DIE WOCHE in German 16 Dec 93 p 17

[Interview with Georgiy Zhakhnazarov, adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev, by unidentified DIE WOCHE correspondent; place and date not given: "'He Is Not An Old Scarecrow'"]

[Text] [Correspondent] The first free elections in Russia's history were won by ultra-nationalists. Is a resurrection of fascism threatening the country of Lenin?

[Zhakhnazarov] Nobody can rule out this possibility today. But there are too few preconditions for such a scenario at the moment. Fanatic nationalism, which created the German xenophobia, is largely unknown to the Russian people. The Russians do not feel superior to other nations.

[Correspondent] Why did they vote for national chauvinist Zhirinovskiy then?

[Zhakhnazarov] His victory is due to the government's policy, particularly the economic shock therapy. Today, 40 percent of the population live in utter poverty, another 40 percent are approaching the subsistence level. All those who are afraid of the future, afraid of hunger and unemployment, have voted for Zhirinovskiy.

[Correspondent] Why did they not vote for the Communist Party?

[Zhakhnazarov] Many, especially older voters, did vote for the Communists. Zhirinovskiy was attractive to those who blame the Communists for today's crisis and who want to prevent them from coming back.

[Correspondent] Is Zhirinovskiy a passing phenomenon, or will he establish himself as a third force?

[Zhakhnazarov] I am afraid, he is not a scarecrow, he is a real threat. If the economic crisis gets worse, he could gain even more votes soon. This is the direction we are heading in at the moment.

[Correspondent] Could he seize power with the help of the army?

[Zhakhnazarov] Entire units voted for him. But another coup is unlikely at the moment.

[Correspondent] Zhirinovskiy backs the Constitution. Why?

[Zhakhnazarov] Because it provides all the preconditions for dictatorship. He only needs to come to power.

Bashkortostan President on Ties With Russia

MK1612120093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Murtaza Rakhimov, Bashkortostan's newly elected president, by Radik Batyrshin in the "Bashkortostan" rubric: "'The Russian Constitution Needs To Be Fine-Tuned,' Believes the Republic's First President"]

[Text] As NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reported earlier, on 12 December Murtaza Rakhimov, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, has won the presidential elections in Bashkortostan, polling 60 percent of the vote. After the results were officially announced, he gave an interview to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

[Batyrshin] What will be your first step in the post of president?

[Rakhimov] I will be working at the same pace as in my position of Supreme Soviet chairman. The republic's leadership is still confronted with two tasks: preventing Bashkortostan's economy from further deterioration and cracking down on crime.

[Batyrshin] What can the presidency give you?

[Rakhimov] I have always been opposed to the institution of a presidency in Bashkortostan, believing that there must be only one president in Russia. But pressure from the Russian presidential administration's territorial directorate ("since you have no popularly elected head of the executive branch, have a viceroy") compelled the creation of this institution. In the post of Supreme Soviet chairman it was much easier for me to ensure the passage of laws and decrees. After I am sworn in as president, I shall lose this opportunity.

[Batyrshin] On 23 December the Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet opens its session. The main question is the final adoption of the Bashkortostan Republic's new constitution. Observers point out that the provisions of this document concerning the republic's status and its relations with the federal authorities contradict the corresponding articles of the new Russian constitution...

[Rakhimov] For us the basis of our statehood is the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Bashkortostan and the results of the 25 April republican referendum. Moreover, the Federation Treaty has not been revoked by anyone; it bears the signatures of both the Russian president and heads of the Federation components. So we are not expecting any particular conflicts with Moscow.

I see no reason for any particular euphoria over the adoption of the new constitution in Russia. According to interim results, in nine republics this draft has not received a majority of votes. In Bashkortostan 53 percent of the voters have said "no" to this new constitution of Russia. This constitution is like a premature baby. In my opinion, the main task of the Federal Assembly is to nurture this "baby" into proper condition. One should proceed from reality, not from wishful thinking. For the sake of preserving Russia's integrity, a compromise is needed. Today, just like yesterday, it is simply impossible to disregard the opinion of the republics and other regions.

[Batyrshin] You have also been elected deputy of the Federation Council....

[Rakhimov] To maintain the interests of the multiethnic people of Bashkortostan, to promote laws conducive to Russia's economic revival and to fight crime—these are the three main tasks for me in the Federation Council.

[Batyrshin] How do you account for the success of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRES] in Bashkortostan?

[Rakhimov] Sergey Shakhray's arrival in the republic played the main role. I myself campaigned for his party because I like PRES' program, promoting the development of federalism. Now we shall see whether PRES will live up to its promises....

[Batyrshin] The Liberal Democratic Party was second in the republic....

[Rakhimov] The youth and the military voted for it. Zhirinovskiy talks fine and is good at making promises. Apparently society is in such a state that it cannot accurately appraise a particular politician. I am afraid that if he comes to power and translates his program into life, Russia will be confronted with disaster.

[Batyrshin] When are you planning to meet with Boris Yeltsin?

[Rakhimov] We shall hardly have time before the new year....

Federation Council Member Rossel on Dismissal

LD1612224793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1757 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Former head of the Sverdlovsk Region's administration, Eduard Rossel, has assessed his election to the Federation Council as "confirmation of adherence to the course aimed at the equalling of the constituent members' rights and Russia's building on the territorial principle."

According to Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree, Rossel has been released of his post as head of the Sverdlovsk Region's administration due to the exceeding of authorities following proclamation of the Ural Republic on the territory of the Sverdlovsk Region.

In his statement, Rossel says that while creating the Ural Republic he was defending two principal positions, the right for a legislature and right for property in regards to everything situated on the Sverdlovsk Region's territory. The victory at the elections, he emphasized, "makes him sure of his actions connected with the transfer of the burden of economic reform from the center to the regions."

On the eve of the elections a commission from the presidential Control Department was the verifying activity of the local administration in Yekaterinburg. The presidential envoy in the Sverdlovsk Region Vitaliy Mashkov asserts that the commission has revealed serious violations for which the former governor is to be held responsible.

However, as Rossel's press secretary Aleksandr Levin reported to INTERFAX, the commission's act "has no materials which could serve as a reason for criminal persecution of the region's leaders."

Party Reaction

Zhirinovskiy Calls Estonia 'Nation of Thieves'

WS1712120293 Tallinn BNS in English 1014 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, Dec 17, BNS—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, once again accused the Baltic states, with Estonia as the prime target, of robbing Russia. He said in an interview to the

Moscow-based KURANTY newspaper that Estonians are a nation of thieves. Zhirinovsky claimed Russia "made a pretty gesture" and handed over the new Tallinn port that cost 4 billion [currency not specified], while Estonians only steal from Russia.

"A nation of 900,000 people, and all of them thieves," Zhirinovsky said not for the first time. Addressing the press on Tuesday [14 December], the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party spoke of the need to strengthen the defense of Russian borders "so that nobody can steal anything any more, especially a country like Estonia."

In a pre-election interview to BNS Zhirinovsky said, "Two weeks after I become the president of Russia there will be not a single Baltic state left if you continue your thieving policies."

Zhirinovksiy Stresses Ties With Germany

AU1712103193 Munich DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 17 Dec 93 pp 3-5

[Interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, head of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, by an unidentified DEUTSCHE NATIONAL- ZEITUNG correspondent; place and date not given: "Germans and Russians—Friends Forever"]

[Text] [DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG] Mr. Zhirinovskiy, you are the overwhelming winner of the elections in Russia. How do you see the situation now?

[Zhirinovskiy] Our party, which represents the interests of the Russian people, is the leading force now. We struggle for the vital interests of the great Russia and, at the same time, for those of the little people. We advocate a different foreign policy and we are for private property. We distinguish ourselves from the current government parties by having a completely pro-Russian position and are striving for a strong, rich Russian state and Russian culture. We, too, want reforms. But we will not destroy the state economic sector. We will not destroy the kolkhozes in agriculture, but establish equal conditions for all forms in economy and agriculture. We do not want to disturb or destroy, but we need good conditions for all citizens. The communists permit only forms where ownership rests with society and the current government parties rely exclusively on private economy. However, we want to link both. During the fist stage, the state economic sector will probably be dominant.

[DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG] In particular after the overwhelming success of this election Sunday, the slander and defamation campaign against you is intensifying. On the one hand, you are considered to be a communist....

[Zhirinovskiy] In contrast to many people of the current government parties, I have never been a communist and I do not have any links with communism. We advocate unreservedly a multiparty system and we think that a mixed economy is the best solution.

[DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG] On the other hand, you are accused of "fascism."

[Zhirinovskiy] The system of defamation is quite clear to me. However, I have just as much as you—namely absolutely nothing—to do with fascism of any kind. The political opponent, who constantly uses this club to eliminate those who think differently, is completely aware of the fact that he is working with obvious lies and malicious slander. My model is Bismark.

The primitive nature of the baiting campaign against me gets absolutely excessive, when they present me as an enemy of Germany. I am a friend of Germany and of the German people and I see us as friends forever. This was also the topic of a speech I gave at the wonderful large rally of the German Peoples Union [DVU] in the Nibelungen Hall in Passau last October. [DVU Chairman] Dr. Frey is my friend and the DVU is our partner.

Our relations will become increasingly harmonious and closer on the basis of equal rights in all fields—politics, culture, economy, and also military. Whoever wants to serve peace and the people's wellbeing must support this course of German-Russian rapprochement and friendship. This policy serves stabilization in Europe and all over the world. I promise that, under the influence of our group in parliament, everything will be done so that this new direction will gain ground in Russia's foreign policy. A lasting, even eternal alliance between Russia and Germany is the greatest blessing for Europe and for the entire world.

[DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG] Every sensible person must take heed of these lessons from history. Peace on our continent is ensured best if the two biggest powers—Russia and Germany—learn the lessons of history and, after two murderous world wars, which brought terrible suffering in particular also to our two peoples, return to our close, traditional friendship that brought happiness and blessing to both sides for centuries.

[Zhirinovskiy] We must never again permit ourselves to be set at each other's throats. No one must be given the opportunity to poison our relations. An end must be put to the anti-German and anti-Russian machinations of intelligence services.

[DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG] Esteemed Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, you know our position on Koenigsberg [Kaliningrad].

[Zhirinovskiy] The area of Koenigsberg must not be a contentious issue between Germany and Russia. There must not be a border between Germany and Russia there. We will find a formula that fully satisfies Germany. Nothing must separate us.

Today I repeat what I said at the various rallies and press conferences of the DVU. The so-called Oder-Neisse line

is not the last word of history. Just solutions serve peace and can be implemented by means of negotiations.

[DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG] You are considered to be a skeptic as regards the "Western community of values."

[Zhirinovskiy] Western policy is frequently ambiguous. It is hardly aimed at establishing sensible and normal conditions in Russia. Even in Germany the bolsheviks and Lenin were supported when this was considered useful. The United States and England later on supported Stalin with all their strength. However, we and our real friends want Russia to remain Russia and be a strong Russian Russia, not a satellite of the West.

[DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG] In contrast to the rest of the opposition, you supported the new constitution, which was approved by the voters on Sunday, from the very beginning.

[Zhirinovskiy] We have a new parliament and a new constitution. Basically, no real parliament has existed until now, because the soviets, which were later turned into the Supreme Soviet, were only sidekicks of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] and all issues were decided by one party at that time. This will be the first parliament in which various political forces will be represented, and this will have a healthy effect on political life in the country and will help to implement meaningful reforms more quickly in the people's interest. At the same time, the new constitution has strengthened the president's power. This is good. Russia needs a strong president so that the country and its economy can recover.

[DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG] One accusation against Yeltsin is that he is destroying the country.

[Zhirinovskiy] Yeltsin is making mistakes, but he is not destroying the country. He is wrong on some issues, but deep in his heart he stands on a patriotic platform.

[DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG] Will you run at the next presidential elections?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, and I will win.

[DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG] What will Russia be faced with in the near future?

[Zhirinovskiy] There will not be an explosion, nor will there be profound social unrest. Inflation will go down slowly. The year 1994 will still be difficult, but economic recovery will become tangible over the following years. The triumphant results of my party at these parliamentary elections will prove to be a great blessing. Politics will normalize and Russia will normalize. Whoever has counted on the destruction and dissolution of Russia was thoroughly wrong. I trust that your readers do not let themselves be deceived by the baiting propaganda. I am a sincere friend of Germany and of the German people. And I stress what I said on television on election night: I cordially greet my friend, Dr. Gerhard Frey, and the DVU, with which we will continue to cooperate closely also in the future.

[DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG] The military, which is still an enormous power in particular in Russia, supports you quite obviously.

[Zhirinovskiy] This is obvious. I want a healthy Russia, which is able to defend itself and represent the interests of the Army, too. No one can be more in favor of peace than I am. However, it cannot be in the interest of Russia and Germany and of practically all the world if Russia is deprived of power and all the world is then supposed to dance to the tune of the global cop. My policy aims at having Russia remain a big power—and this is in everybody's interest—and I also advocate close military cooperation with Germany.

[DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG] At the end of August, the last Russian troops will have withdrawn from central Germany.

[Zhirinovskiy] Germany does not need any foreign troops at all, and I cannot see any purpose for the German people in leaving foreign armies stationed on the territory of the FRG on the one hand and, on the other, in putting German soldiers under foreign command. After all, Germany is not a protectorate, but an important power.

[DEUTSCHE NATIONAL-ZEITUNG] When will you meet again with Dr. Frey?

[Zhirinovskiy] In Moscow soon. We will again appear together at various rallies and press conferences of the Liberal Democrats and the DVU, for instance in the Nibelungen Hall in Passau on 24 September 1994.

Zhirinovskiy Leaves for Almaty Over Aunt's Death

LD1612160593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1457 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] The chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy leaves for Almaty Thursday [16 December], where his mother's sister has died, INTERFAX was told at the party's headquarters.

The condolences to the party leader from the party's central committee and the party's deputies in the State Duma say that the heart of Zhirinovskiy's aunt, Valentina Bogomazova, was unable to bear the flow of malicious slander and concoctions against her nephew on the part of the media.

In their message Zhirinovskiy's supporters call the capital of Almaty the city of Verny (the former name of the city) and adds once Russians came to that land and brought with them civilization, freedom, culture and Russian technology.

Almaty is the native city of the 47-year-old leader of the Liberal Democrats.

Zhirinovskiy's statements during the election campaign criticizing the leadership of Kazakhstan caused the protest of the official authorities in Almaty.

Communist Party To Meet 25 Dec To Discuss Policies

LD1612134393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1144 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] The ruling body of the Russian Communist Party will meet in Moscow on December 25 [to] discuss the policies to be pursued by the party's parliamentary group, in particular the procedure of electing the State Duma speaker, Gennadiy Zyuganov, the party leader, told journalists.

In his view, the party might hold a convention as early as in March or April. The meeting will set the date.

Zyuganov said that the communist deputies in the State Duma intended to ally with the Agrarian Party and deputies of Sergey Baburin's Russian All-People's Union and Arkadiy Volskiy's Civic Union who had been elected in single seat electoral districts.

Zyuganov also emphasized that numerous independent deputies would support the course proposed by communists, agrarians and others. He said that talks were underway with every independent deputy and deputies representing some other electoral blocs.

Zyuganov did not rule out the possibility of a coalition with some liberal democrats and said that most of the 65 to 70 LDP deputies wanted peace and did not want Russia to fight any war.

Zyuganov Briefing on CP Role in New Parliament

PM1612112793 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 2

[Galina Orekhanova report: "Communist Party of the Russian Federation Electoral Association Press Conference: Showing Confidence"]

[Text] The first post-election press conference by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF], held on Tuesday [14 December], reflected the whole range of the acute political situation which has prevailed since the first election results were announced. In contrast to the panic-stricken antics of the democrats, discouraged by the results and unable to disguise their fear and confusion in the face of the new configuration of forces in Russia, the CPRF stressed at its meeting with the widely represented world press that the election results were not only no surprise to it but backed up almost in toto the correctness of the forecasts repeatedly made by the CPRF leadership during the election campaign.

It is not just the defeat of Russia's Choice that stands as a very important result of the election but above all the victory of the Communists as the bearers of socialist awareness. The election results flatly refute the statement made by Boris Yeltsin in the U.S. Congress last year that communism was over in Russia. The election results show that the Russian president's views are out of tune with the objective reality prevailing in the country.

Communist Party leader G.A. Zyuganov stated: We respect the people's choice and see our main task now as ensuring that our representatives in the Federal Assembly carry out the program guidelines which we adopted at the party conference. A CPRF Central Executive Committee plenum will be held on 25 December, which will sum up the election results and set a date for the next party conference, which will determine the nature and manner of our future action.

It was also stressed that the ideology and philosophy of fascism, which is based on national exclusivity and racial superiority, are alien to Russia and Russian people both in terms of their origin and creed, and discussion of this question was chiefly generated by the fact that Russia's Choice sought to impose the following dilemma on society via the mass media during the election campaign: It was either them or fascism. The nub of the problem is that the ruling bloc has been pursuing a policy which destroys the body social and the cultural basis of society. That was the principal reason why Russia's Choice suffered a crushing defeat at the elections.

Russia's territorial integrity, the voluntary restoration of the fraternity of the peoples of the USSR, the preservation of peace, the struggle against the threat of civil war, and prosperity in the home of everyone rather than the elected representatives are the priorities of the CPRF's course. The CPRF is going into the Federal Assembly to pave the way for law and—in constructive dialogue with all political forces—to put the country on the path of civilized development, Zyuganov stated. The Communists' political preferences in parliament will remain as before, according to Gennadiy Zyuganov. "We are not changing the friends and allies with whom we cooperated in the Congress of People's Deputies," he stressed, "and we will continue to collaborate with representatives of the Agrarian Party and the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, with Sergey Baburin's Russian National Union, and with the supporters of the former Fatherland faction. However, this association will considerably broaden its scope in the new parliament, according to the Communist leader. Moreover, he considers that Communists are close to the Democratic Party of Russia's stance on a whole number of questions.

Commenting on the success scored by the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], Zyuganov noted that the CPRF is ready to cooperate with LDPR members who support on the whole the priorities of the Communists' course; however, statements about "campaigns in the south or the east have nothing to do with constructive policy." The Communists will support for the post of speaker a nominee who is not given to extremes and who will establish effective dialogue among the factions.

Civic Union Leaders on Zhirinovskiy Phenomenon

MK1612131093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 4

[Interview with Arkadiy Volskiy and Aleksandr Tsipko, leaders of Civic Union, by Sergey Kaverin: "Arkadiy Volskiy: 'If a Party Goes Wrong, It's The Girls Who Should Be Changed, Not the Furniture'"]

[Text] Not only has our correspondent met with Civic Union leaders Arkadiy Volskiy and Aleksandr Tsipko, he also ventured to argue with them on the results of the elections.

[Kaverin] In your post-election interviews you, Arkadiy Ivanovich, label members of the Gaydar government as unprofessional, calling for them to be replaced... In this connection, how do you assess the electoral success of Zhirinovskiy's LDPR?

[Volskiy] Yesterday, our voodoo man, Allan Chumak, made a statement saying that Kashpirovskiy is allegedly to blame for what has happened. He allegedly cast a spell on all of Russia. I do not believe this! Who can explain to me today why the deprived people voted for Zhirinovskiy?! The LDPR leader's phenomenon is easy to explain—unbridled populism. I cannot give pledges that tomorrow, on the 12th, I will come to power, and on the 13th you will be better off! Because I am guided by common sense and have internal brakes. Zhirinovskiy has neither.

As for the government. This is the most serious question. If there is a defeat at some stage, some government members have to be replaced and tactics changed, even to the detriment of its strategy. If a party goes wrong, it is the girls who should be changed, not the furniture. This is why Civic Union favors a change of government, but argues against replacing Viktor Chernomyrdin.

[Kaverin] Let us return, however, to the "objective fundamentals" of Zhirinovskiy's program. For instance, the reconversion of the military-industrial sector.

[Volskiy] In English it sounds like "bread sieve cable" and in Russian "raving nonsense" ["bred sivoy kobyly"]. How can one presently halt the process of conversion?! This is the raving of a madman! Absolutely! As of today, military orders have dropped 67 percent, the army has been halved. What can we sell? We need to sell something we do better than others. For instance, Gore and Chernomyrdin signed an agreement on creating a space platform. Take our project, "Double Eagle," for researching the moon. It is these programs that should be sold! But, I beg your pardon, who currently needs obsolete guns with a large hole?! So, only a very incompetent person can talk about halting the process of conversion. We have 1,500 military plants that employ 7.5 million people, with their family members that is 25 million! To leave them without wages? How can conversion be stopped? "Bread sieve cable!"

[Kaverin] And you, Aleksandr Sergeyevich, talk about the Zhirinovskiy phenomenon as if he were an "irrational jester" and deny our people any right whatsoever to make thought-out, rational decisions, saying that they (people) made their choice in favor of Zhirinovskiy in a state of hypnotic spell, mesmerized by him.

[Tsipko] The main thing here is Zhirinovskiy's ability to sense society's mood. I have long watched Zhirinovskiy, and used to go to the American Embassy together with him. He was an ordinary research fellow from the Academy of Sciences, who emerged on the tide of perestroyka. He had long looked for a niche and found it precisely. He realized that our radical, cosmopolitan democracy ends up offending national dignity, makes one lose self-confidence and confidence in the state. He realized it three years ago. He started exploiting this niche very painstakingly, particularly after the USSR's breakup. I am deeply convinced that he is simply a gifted actor, an ambitious person, and no fascist at all! Fascism is something horrible. But it is a conviction, an ideology.

This man, however, does not have any ideology or any outlook. Except for the desire to prove to all that he is capable of performing any role. What is horrible in our perestroyka is that it gave everyone the possibility to become everything! This is a great devilish temptation! Gaydar's devilish temptation is to break this country and to lead it to a rational path. I am an opponent of Gaydar, but I understand that his is a temptation to make a fetish of rationalism. This man, however—Zhirinovskiy—plays on making a fetish of the irrational, on the breakup of personality. For there is no program there!

He offends my dignity when saying that he will muzzle everyone, that he will have people shot without trial! That he will conquer Finland! Being a Russian, I am terrified that this politician exists. So, believe me, the issue is not that he has a program. This is very talented acting against the backdrop of the offended national dignity, which is a consequence of the entire failure of our ruling party, "Democratic Russia." This is the cost of their mistakes. This is why for me he is an extension of "Democratic Russia" and "Russia's Choice." In everything. Mostly in methods: to appeal to the Russians, who are fond of miracles. To a small man who can become everything. Like he, Zhirinovskiy, did!

Civic Union Hopes To Create Centrist Faction

MK1612124093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 2

[Yevgeniy Krasnikov report under the "Parties" rubric: "Rutskoy's Name Helped Centrists Enter Parliament. Disappointed Volskiy Blames Russian Authorities"]

[Text] Civic Union leaders held a press conference in Moscow yesterday. Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, said that he was strongly disappointed with the results of the elections for the Federal Assembly. Volskiy laid the blame for the results on the current Russian authorities,

above all on the government, "from which weak and incompetent people must go now."

Although Civic Union did not manage to garner the requisite 5 percent of the vote, it was, however, able to get a certain number of its candidates elected in territorial districts. According to Vasiliy Lipitskiy, a Civic Union leader (he himself was elected to the State Duma in the 126th district in Novosibirsk Oblast), early returns suggest that a total of 19 Civic Union loyalists were elected to the Federation Council and the State Duma. Furthermore, there is a possibility that this number may increase. It is worth noting that Aleksandr Rutskoy's name was of no small help in Civic Union loyalists' campaigning. To all appearances, Lipitskiy's support base in Novosibirsk Oblast grew substantially after leaflets, in which Rutskoy's lawyer, Yuriy Ivanov, testified on behalf of his client that during the September-October coup d'etat Vasiliy Lipitskiy honestly performed his duty to the Constitution and the lawful authority, were dropped in each voter's mailbox.

Speaking with your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent, Vasiliy Lipitskiy suggested that Civic Union members may manage to set up a centrist faction in the new parliament together with deputies from other associations. At the same time, according to Lipitskiy, the centrists are now intent on working actively outside the parliament as well.

Stankevich on Plans for Party of Russian Unity

LD1712114093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1106 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—The faction of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord in the parliament intends to support the efforts of the president and the government aimed at reform. Sergey Stankevich, leader of the Moscow chapter of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, said this to ITAR-TASS. According to preliminary data, the party has earned 6.8 per cent of the vote. Stankevich himself ran for parliament in one of Moscow districts and hopes to win a seat.

Stankevich said a lesson should be learned from the results of the elections. Emphasis should be made on the solution of social problems whose acuteness has been underrated. The Moscow chapter of the party is drafting legislation on the introduction of "social coupons" to help supply large families with low earnings with the set of essential food products and medicines.

The Party of Russian Unity and Accord, as a "provincial party", is working out a programme for the revival of medium and small towns. It is also preparing legislative initiatives in the area of self-government and federalism, Stankevich said.

Regarding report that he is a witness in a criminal case associated with the gala concert in the Red Square in 1991, Stankevich said that thousands of people are witnesses in all kinds of cases, but far from all of them are mentioned by the media for this reason.

Stankevich said he would not like to get involved in some debates on this matter and prefers to concentrate on constructive work.

Shakhray Press Conference on Election Results

PM1712110193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Vladimir Pavlov: "The Leader of the 'Regions Party' Kept Quiet About Them. Why?"]

[Text] Government Vice Premier S.M. Shakhray, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA], held his press conference on the election results at the Russian Press Center. Asked by our correspondent about the reasons for his party's unconvincing performance, Sergey Mikhaylovich replied:

"I cannot agree at all that it is a defeat. Our party, which has been in existence for less than two months, captured over 3 million votes cast by voters whose interests it is prepared to uphold in the new parliament with the utmost resolve."

The PRUA leader gave a detailed account of his party's view of the victory of the extreme right-wing Liberal Democratic Party of Russia. He stressed that, like the "Russia's Choice" leaders working in the government, he does not intend to cooperate with the fascists and is even prepared to resign.

"There is nothing awful in that as far as I am concerned," he said. "When my program to combat the rising fascist threat found no support last spring I went and I lost nothing personally. So going is no problem. But first I would like to work and try to work with all healthy, constructive forces."

Talking about these forces in the new parliament, Mr. Shakhray went through practically all the future factions, aside from Zhirinovskiy's party and..."Russia's Choice." Concerning the Communist Party and the Agrarians, the vice premier said, in particular, that they, like the PRUA, are also opposed to the breakup of Russia, so cooperation with them is also a possibility. He also stressed that Boris Yeltsin was absolutely right to distance himself from all the parties. Otherwise he would have shared "Russia's Choice's" obvious failure with it.

It is indicative that in his speech, which lasted a full hour, the leader of the "regions party" effectively ignored the regional aspect.

Starodubtsev Claims Leaders Trying To Destroy Country

LD1612172693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1457 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] The December 12 elections have shown that the people of Russia are beginning to understand who is who, and sees that the time is near when they will say "no" to those rulers who are ruining our great power, INTERFAX has been told by Vasiliy Starodubtsev, a defendant in the August 1991 coup trial and a leader of the Russian Agrarian Union. Starodubtsev has been elected to the Federation Council from Tula Constituency No. 71.

Starodubtsev said that the current reforms are not the gravest experiment in history, they are the program, well developed by the West, to disintegrate and destroy the country and turn it a raw material base for the industrialized countries. The program is being zealously implemented by "boys in rosy panties" who are dealing the final blow to the people.

He flatly denounced the election rhetoric by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who promised to solve all problems at a go, pleasing the voters. He described as a "dishonest method" the election platform and campaign conducted by the Liberal Democrats.

He said that the artificially created and zealously blown up thesis about the threat of fascism to Russia due to the victory of the Liberal Democrats was simply another political stunt prepared by the ruling circles and their entourage, aimed at hammering into the people's heads the image of another enemy. It is an attempt to give the president and government the pretext to commit actions like killing off the Soviet power on October 3-4 in the form of the parliament. He is sure, however, that following the elections Russia will gather strength and rise from its knees.

International Reaction

President Clinton Cited on Russia's 'Protest Vote'

PM1612141793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "At the Center of Attention"]

[Text] U.S. President Bill Clinton has sent a telegram to Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin, congratulating him on the adoption of the country's new constitution. During a short meeting with journalists the U.S. President stated that he views the preliminary results of the elections in Russia "as to a large extent a protest vote." "I think that when people are living through difficult times and have been living through them for long years, they often seek easy answers. This is not a feature that is unique to Russia."

'No Reaction' to Zhirinovskiy's Nuclear Arms Threat

PM1612191793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 1

[Pavel Shinkarenko report: "The Nuclear Bugaboo: There Has Been No Chain Reaction. No Reaction to LDPR Leader's Menacing Statement, While Washington Promises to Step Up Support for Russian Reforms"]

[Text] "It is 50 years since the Japanese experienced Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Perhaps they have forgotten about this? We can arrange new Hiroshimas and Nagasakis. I will have no hesitation in using nuclear weapons." This belligerent statement by LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] Leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, made by him in an interview with a Hamburg radio station, has developed into a scandal for the Japanese mass media. But not for the government.

"The prime minister's office considers such statements by Mr. Zhirinovskiy to be unworthy even of comment," Counsellor Akio Kawato, leader of the Information Department at the Japanese Embassy in Moscow, told ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI.

Reports received from Tokyo by the editorial office confirmed the diplomat's words. Chief Cabinet Secretary Masayoshi Takemura declared that the results of the Russian Federal Assembly elections will not affect Japanese policy toward the Russian Federation. The Japanese Government will continue to make every effort to bring about the complete normalization of relations with Russia by means of settling the territorial question in line with the "Tokyo Declaration" signed during President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan in October this year.

But in the selfsame interview Mr. Zhirinovskiy threatened not only Japan. Germany too has become a target for nuclear blackmail, with Vladimir Volfovich promising to "treat" it to a nuclear mushroom if it interferes in Russia's domestic affairs.

"The country's leadership does not deem it possible to react to each madcap statement," Dr. Enno Barker, leader of the Press Service at the FRG Embassy in Moscow, told us. But German newspapers have been very eloquent. Commenting on the LDPR's success in general, SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG writes: "The speeches by LDPR leaders reflect the traditional fears of the Russian people: the fear of hostile influence, especially in the event of Russia's collapse as a state." But, the newspaper believes, this must not alter Germany's partnership attitude toward Germany and Boris Yeltsin's government.

This very same stance has been taken up in Washington. Furthermore, U.S. President Bill Clinton stressed: "The outcome of the elections compels us all to double efforts to support the process of reforms in Russia. This support should be effected in such a way as to ensure that ordinary Russians receive the benefit if it." And on Mr.

Zhirinovskiy, he said: "I am alarmed by some of the statements by the leader of the so-called Liberal Democratic Party." However, he attributed this bloc's success at the elections to "a protest vote" in return for the psychological damage caused to the people during reforms, and not to support for the LDPR's policies.

But what about the Russian Foreign Ministry, and Andrey Kozyrev himself, who Mr. Zhirinovskiy has promised will be one of the first to leave the new government?

In the opinion of the Foreign Ministry head, certain statements by the LDPR leader, in particular those on the need to revise borders both with neighboring countries and within Russia itself, "border on the completely irresponsible, and they place the lives of many, many people in danger." They "smack of fascist-style demagoguery." "And I," Andrey Kozyrev stressed, "will not offer my hand to Zhirinovsky in the Duma. Unless he, in all honesty, says that many of his statements of this nature were made at the height of the election campaign, that he will revise them, and that he is prepared to renounce them." The minister warned against any kind of panic in connection with the outcome of the elections for the Federal Assembly. "We must join forces on an antifascist basis," the minister went on, "with any party, but primarily with the Communists who have always been consistent fighters against fascism."

Andrey Kozyrev is convinced that "reason and a sober approach will prevail in the decisions of deputies, armed today with a new Constitution, and firm guarantees from the Russian Federation president."

Ukraine's Kravchuk Makes Statement on Elections

AU1712115693 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 16 Dec 93 p 1

[Statement by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk: "A Separate Political Platform Is Not Yet a State Concept"]

[Text] **Sharing his opinion on the results of Russian elections with journalists, Leonid Kravchuk pointed out the following:**

"A final assessment or statement may only be made after the Russian State Duma gathers and corresponding decisions are adopted there. In other words, we can only respond to corresponding decisions adopted by the state organ. In the given case, it is a matter of pre-election struggle and pre-election platforms occupied by political parties and political forces. That is why I cannot and will not analyze these platforms, because it is the right of any party to advance its own political theses, programs, and so on. However, I would not be sincere before you if I said that I do not feel concerned. Not so much concerned about Ukraine, as I am taking the liberty to say, but concerned about Russia itself. It was clear to me, I repeatedly said and want to say now that new democratic ideas and the ideas of state sovereignty issued from Russia. They issued from Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and from other democratic forces. It is as though other states that emerged on the territory of the former Union carried on their [Russian democratic forces'] work and assimilated Russian experience. The concern arose when, during the Russian presidential elections, 6 million Russian citizens voted for the concept of a great and indivisible Russia. At present, the concern is even greater. It is a matter of revanchism. This should not be obscured. However, I hope that the authorities, the president, and all forces in Russia will rise to the defense of democracy and will not allow ideas of revanchism to develop into a state concept. However, if they are embodied in a state concept and become prevailing, then I can say openly that this will signify the beginning of enormous cataclysms in the world and in Europe. Although, I reiterate, I look upon all of this now as populism and as a political platform. Of course, there is concern because so many people voted for such ideas, people who want to restore the czarist empire. I am very concerned about this. However, I want to express my confidence that democratic forces in Russia will return to the trend that they opted for and that the digression from democracy is temporary and is due to the difficult economic situation, of which everybody is taking advantage. Including quite a number of political leaders."

Christian Democrats Urge Joint Action

LD1612171393 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1208 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 16 Dec—The Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine [KhDPU] has made public a statement in connection with the results of the parliamentary elections in Russia. The document, in particular, points out that Zhirinovskiy's victory may cause particular anxiety worldwide, in Europe and first of all in Ukraine since, as was stated by the Russian president's press secretary, Mr. Kostikov, Boris Yeltsin is prepared to collaborate with Zhirinovskiy. The KhDPU expresses concern about the possibility of Ukraine becoming the primary victim of such cooperation.

The KhDPU appeals for an international antifascist front to be formed with the participation of all conscientious and responsible people, including Russians. "Russian fascism can still be stopped. But it can be done by way of firmness and resolute repulse, rather than gratifying and conciliating chauvinism", Ukraine's Christian Democrats conclude.

Further Party Statement

LD1612212693 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1428 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—The Democratic Party of Ukraine published a statement yesterday in which it appeals to the president, the Supreme Council of Ukraine, and the

Ukrainian and world community and expresses "deep concern at the results of the December elections in Russia."

"In connection with the great military, including nuclear and thermonuclear, potential, the situation which has arisen threatens the peace and territorial integrity of the independent states which have arisen on the territory of the former Soviet Union, peace in the whole world, and even the biological existence of the whole of mankind, for the implementation of the program principles of Mr. Zhirinovskiy's party is the path to a Third World War " says the statement.

The Democratic Party of Ukraine draws the attention of the world community to the "new danger": "The short-sighted policy of the West, led by the United States, of tolerating and assisting the supposed democratization of Russia is reminiscent of the "Munich" policy of the same West prior to the Second World War."

Belarus Official Anticipates 'Stalemate' in Duma

WS1612101293 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0400 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Nikolay Skarynin, the prime minister's adviser and one of the leaders of the Belarus faction in the Belarusian Supreme Soviet, told a BELINFORM correspondent that Russian elections may result in a stalemate in the Russian National Duma. Two opposing political forces are more or less equally represented in the new Russian legislature, which may mean that resolving any issues will be impossible. He also pointed out that he had foreseen the success of Zhirinovskiy's party. Speaking about prospects for adopting a new Belarusian constitution, Skarynin voiced his reserved skepticism.

Kazakh Presidential Aide on Zhirinovskiy's Success

MK1612132093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 6

[Leyla Alibeyli report: "Almaty Is Not Inclined To Dramatize Russian Poll Results. Kazakhstani Public, However, Is Shocked"]

[Text] Although virtually no one in Russia sees the results of the 12 December parliamentary elections as a surprise any longer, Kazakhstan's public still cannot recover from the shock caused by the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia's [LDPR] victory. Many people in the Republic are concerned that LDPR leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who has presently acquired actual parliamentary authority, may help destabilize Kazakhstan's northern areas predominantly populated by Russian Cossacks. A number of politicians have even requested that the Republic's leaders raise a question at the UN Security Council with regard to ensuring Kazakhstan's territorial integrity. Calls have also been heard for the Republic's immediately joining NATO, which "in case of aggression from Russia could give actual assistance to Kazakhstan."

Passions regarding Zhirinovskiy's victory have run so high that the presidential staff had to make a special statement on the subject. "The results of the Russian elections did not come as a surprise from the point of view of the process of political developments in the past few months," said Marat Tazhin, chief of the Kazakhstani president's information-analytical center, on national television. "We expected the LDPR's success judging from the data of Russian pollsters. I would not dramatize the events, however, for the stance of one leader does not yet amount to a stance of the entire party, movement, or bloc. This is why we hope for further development of Russian-Kazakhstani relations," Mr. Tazhin emphasized.

Kyrgyz President's Reaction to Elections Noted

LD1612190193 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 0000 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Ibraimov, first assistant to President Akayev and head of his press service, held a briefing on the session of the Zhogorku Kenesh. He spoke about the president's position in connection with the vote of confidence in the prime minister. A declaration issued by the press service on this issue says the following:

Debates in parliament finally assured the public that under the present political situation, which is aggravated by complicated economic conditions [words indistinct] the only ground for the normal work both of parliament and the government is the people's trust. The president's decision on the government's surrendering its powers ahead of time is the only possible decision. We have every reason to believe that the new Prime Minister Dzhumagulov, who enjoys wide popularity in the nation, is trusted by the president, and supported by parliament, will ensure the efficient work of the government and of all the bodies of executive power.

Ibraimov also expressed the president's opinion on the elections to the Russian Duma. Taking into account the fact, he went on to note, that we quite often follow the policy of Russia, the results of the elections should cause alarm. All of us believed that only the reelection of the parliament would improve the situation and speed up the process of reforms. We believed that as a result we would get the kind of parliament that we need, but it looks like we are in for suprises. It might be that we will get something different from our expectations of the Zhogorku Kenesh. Thus we should analyze the lessons of Russia.

The president also spoke about the speech made at the session by a deputy, now the former deputy, (Sultanbek Tabaldiyev) who, as already reported, surrendered his powers ahead of time. He described the results of the vote of confidence in the prime minister as illegal. The president, his assistant said, consulted a great number of well-known

lawyers who believe that Tabaldiyev was on the whole right. Since the parliament has not raised the issue of a vote of confidence in itself and the intiative was put forward by the body of deputies it would have been natural if the issue was raised as a vote of no confidence in the government or the prime minister. This issue is solved by two thirds of the people's deputies. The possible explanation for this situation is the fact that the Constitution does not clearly formulate the procedure for showing a vote of confidence in the government. In any case, the emotional [words indistinct].

The issue of the deputies who, as the saying goes, are sitting on the fence, is also urgent.

Tajik Deputy Prime Minister Comments

LD1612175993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1140 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe December 16 TASS—The preliminary results of the electoral campaign in Russia are the exact reflection of the socio-political and economic situation that has taken shape in Russia, said Dr. Rustam Mirzoev (economy), deputy prime minister of Tajikistan who represents the republic in the CIS Coordinating-Consultative Council.

Assessing in this connection the "convincing results" achieved by the Liberal Democratic Party, the deputy head of the Tajik Government said in an ITAR-TASS interview that this party skilfully took advantage of a number of negative consequences of the restructuring of the enormous state system, including the thoughtless turning of state-owned enterprises into enterprises with other forms of ownership. Naturally, all this resulted in the dramatic stratification of society into the rich and the poor and the reduction of real incomes of part of the population.

At the same time, Rustam Mirzoev expressed confidence that Russia, and especially the present representatives of the parties and movements opposing each other—the Liberal democratic Party, Russia's Choice and Communists—will display enough common sense in order to reach great compromises for the sake of the future and the integrity of the Russian Federation, the preservation of common economic and just all-human space.

As for the statements of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, about the restoration of the Russian state within the borders of 1917 and of the future provinces on the territory of former USSR republics, Mirzoev described them as an ordinary propaganda manoeuver typical of an electoral campaign. He stressed that this extreme was used by the skilful politician to offset another destructive extreme, associated with the disintegration of the USSR and separatist trends in the Russian Federation itself.

"I hope these extremes will be rejected when the politicians who came to power will have to tackle all political, economic and social problems and make important decisions," he pointed out. According to Mirzoev, the Tajik leadership has been and continues to be a consistent supporter of the strengthening of integration ties with Russia and all other CIS member states in conditions of the real preservation of the political independence and sovereignty of Tajikistan.

Georgia's Shevardnadze on Ties With Russia

LD1612172993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1457 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze, commenting on the preliminary results of the elections to the Russian Parliament Thursday, briefed journalists that the line-up of forces in parliament cannot have a negative effect on the relations within the CIS countries. He said that Georgia had chosen to be a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States and would strictly fulfil all its commitments. Georgia does not intend to deviate from the course of normalizing relations with Russia, said Shevardnadze.

Party Supports Zhirinovskiy

LD1612202593 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1500 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 16 Dec—The chairman of Georgia's National-Ideology party, Zurab Gagnidze told an IBERIA correspondent that in his opinion, in the elections in the Russian Federation Council the Russian people had put their hopes on Vladimir Zhirinovskiy who represented the national force. If the Russian Liberal-Democratic Party does not live up to the peoples' trust, then the Russian people would stop supporting it.

The chairman of Georgia's National-Ideology Party welcomes Zhirinovskiy's victory in the 12 December elections.

In Gagnidze's opinion, Russia has been sold by the Democratic forces. The United States have in effect dominated the Russian politics and economy. Therefore, the victory of the Liberal Democrats is a positive event both for the Russian Federation and the former Soviet Union republics. But if the Russian authorities interfere in the internal affairs of Georgia, Georgia's National-Ideology Party will condemn it. For the time being there are no grounds for doing so.

Lithuanian Parliament Official on Elections

WS1712112993 Tallinn BNS in English 1613 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 16, BNS—Elections in Russia went smoothly and votes were counted correctly, said Mindaugas Stakvilevicius, chairman of the Lithuanian parliament's Civil and Human Rights Committee.

At a press conference Thursday [16 December], Stakvilevicius and committee member Valdas Petrauskas discussed their impressions from Moscow, where they observed the Dec. 12 elections to the new Russian parliament.

Petrauskas said Romualdas Kozyrovicius, Lithuanian ambassador to Russia, complained about Lithuania's delayed reaction to election results in Russia. The lawmaker noted that the embassy had no official statements from Lithuania Tuesday morning and there was no information about President Algirdas Brazauskas' Monday telegram to Yeltsin.

Stakvilevicius said the success of Vladimir Zhirinovsky, leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, and other supporters of "the cult of force" was predetermined by the October crisis when force and the Russian president's dictatorial rights were used.

In Stakvilevicius' opinion, the new constitution was backed by supporters of both President Yeltsin and Zhirinovsky, who hopes to take over the post in two years. Meanwhile, a lot of Russians did not vote because they boycotted the referendum on the constitution, the lawmaker said.

Stakvilevicius, a member of the ruling Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party, said he changed his opinion about the Russian communists, who, he thinks, are quite a moderate party. "It is related to communists only by its name, but in fact, it is similar to the Polish social democrats or the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party."

The opinion was opposed by democrat Valdas Petrauskas. He said the liberal democrats, the communists, agrarians and Russian women will create a unified and a strong bloc to deal with key political issues.

Both lawmakers noted that Russia was not very well prepared to accept foreign observers, who were supposed to cover nearly all expenses themselves. The Lithuanian observers received support from the embassy in Moscow.

Elections Viewed 'Positively'

LD1712112893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1108 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius December 17 TASS—The Lithuanian Foreign Ministry positively appraises the results of the referendum on the new Russian Constitution and believes that powers vested by the constitution in Russian President Boris Yeltsin would ensure the implementation of democratic reforms, says a statement by the Foreign Ministry circulated here on Friday.

"Despite the fact that the final results of the elections to the Federal Assembly will be known later, revenge-seeking and pro- imperial manifestations in Russia's political life provoke concern," the document notes.

In the opinion of the foreign office, "It is clear even now that Russian democratic forces face a serious test. On the other hand, a period of meditations sets in for all states interested in Russia's stability."

Media Analysis, Comment

Yeltsin Seen Needing Former Regional Opponents' Support

MK1612130093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 2

[Vladimir Todres report: "Provincial Rebels as Kremlin's Support Base"]

[Excerpts] For starters, a few statistics. Just a few. A total of 130 winners in the race for Federation Council seats have already been determined. Of them, presidents and prime ministers of autonomous republics and chiefs and other top officials of local administrations have won 55 seats. Despite the "triumphant departure of soviet power" announced a couple of months ago, leaders of the republics' soviets won six seats and oblast soviets 16 seats (including four in Central-Chernozem Russia). The "round-trip ticket holders," that is, three fired governors (Yuriy Lodkin and Eduard Rossel among them) and two soviet chiefs, Nikolay Kondratenko and Aman Tuleyev, also did well. Most remaining seats were divided among directors of large concerns and joint-stock companies. [passage omitted]

Having realized that the Kremlin has definitely gotten bogged down in all-out tussles over the introduction of democracy in Russia, local elites focused on the one thing that really matters for them—self-preservation. Admittedly, they have achieved a brilliant success. Moscow, for its part, will have to deal again with those same people who pursue those same objectives. At the Federation Council, Boris Yeltsin will see the familiar faces of agrarian chiefs from central Russia; "Urals clan" chief Eduard Rossel; Primorye Governor Yevgeniy Nazdratenko; Aleksey Manannikov, a famous Siberian oblast leader; and Bashkir champion of sovereignty Murtaza Rakhimov, who received presidential powers. The absence of the uncompromising leaders of the Sverdlovsk Oblast and Krasnoyarsk Kray soviets, Anatoliy Grebenkin and Vyacheslav Novikov respectively, means only that in two months they will confidently head newly elected local parliaments.

There is no doubt that the "economic trade union" of leaders of raw-materials regions and the "beggars' lobby" of poor oblasts chiefs will continue their October line. The triumph of the bosses who have already been fired by the Kremlin shows that even having scared the province in October, Moscow still has not retaken any actual levers to control it.

It is among regional mutineers, however, that Yeltsin's team may find a support base in the current day of need: The local elite, which has acquired a taste for the "quiet

devolution of powers," is by no means interested in dramatic changes on the Moscow Olympus. It has taken it too much effort to find its current approaches and connections in Moscow. A switch from the policy of "quelling the regions" to the recognition that "the regional factor" is a reality may help the Kremlin to localize, at least in part, the effects of the "new right's" victory in the party vote.

Government Decides 'To Play Regional Card'

MK1712104093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 3

[Vladislav Dorofeyev report: "Alignment of Forces in Federation Council. Party of the Regions Garners Majority in Federation Council"]

[Text] Judging by the latest utterances of government and presidential team spokesmen, the federal authorities, dismayed at the results of party list voting for the State Duma, have decided to again play the regional card. Indeed, the majority in the Federation Council, the upper chamber of parliament, is made up of top officials of federation components. Yesterday, information came from the Kalmykian president's entourage that the leaders of a number of republics who had won seats in the upper chamber of the Federal Assembly have drawn up proposals to Boris Yeltsin on a reshuffle in the Russian Government.

Erdvin Shamakov, press secretary of the Kalmykia president, advised at a news conference yesterday that, in the opinion of Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, the elected parliament would not last until the termination of its powers because a standoff between the deputies, the president, and the government would start virtually from its first day of work. To all appearances, Ilyumzhinov primarily had in mind the State Duma, which is formed mainly on the party principle (incidentally, Ilyumzhinov has been elected to the Federation Council). It has become known from another source, also in the entourage of the Kalmykia president, that Mr. Ilyumzhinov agreed his electoral position, during the upper chamber election campaign, with Viktor Stepanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Karelia, and Murtaza Rakhimov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Bashkortostan (both have won seats in the Federation Council).

According to information from the same source, the leaders of republics have drawn up a coordinated program for joint actions to uphold the interests of Federation components at the federal level. One of the proposals in the program is to make some changes in the cabinet. There is a very high probability that the president will have to reckon with federation components' leaders, who account for an absolute majority in the upper chamber.

Leading figures in the government and Boris Yeltsin's team all too well realize the significance of the newly elected Federation Council. Emil Pain, head of the presidential council's group for nationalities policy, stated that it is especially important for the president to build up an alliance with heads of the regions who account for the majority in the upper chamber and who are capable of neutralizing the "dangerous" State Duma. Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray regards the Federation Council as a "factor working for political stability."

In order to have a clearer idea of the newly elected Federation Council, suffice it to recall the events in late September and early October when the leaders of 50 components of the federation gathered in Moscow under the leadership of Ilyumzhinov and Stepanov. A Council of Federation Components was set up at those conferences which proclaimed the regions to be the main players of Russian internal politics.

Boris Yeltsin, to all intents and purposes, disbanded the Federation Council in the wake of the elimination of the Supreme Soviet. Today, however, virtually all leaders of the regional community have become members of the upper chamber of parliament, which is not only empowered to make decisions but also has the right of veto on major domestic and foreign questions of Russia's policy. Besides (and this is not unimportant) the Federation Council can express no confidence in the president.

Government Urged To Reinforce Cabinet's 'Reformist Wing'

PM1612172193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 2

[Article by Dmitriy Lvov: "The Parties and Blocs That Were Victorious, So They Think, in the Elections Are Preparing To Storm Staraya Ploshchad. What Will the Government Do In Response?"]

[Text] Staraya Ploshchad has long been an easy target, constantly in the sights of the opposition. How many times has its "heavy artillery" shelled the government, how many times have political snipers tried to take out various figures in its ranks not to their liking... And after all, the Council of Ministers has not only to stave off these incessant attacks, but also to conduct business—carry out reforms, manage the huge national economic organism, and resolve a heap of current questions.

For all this work to go ahead, the Cabinet should be as little as possible dependent on political games and should not be anyone's trump card in them. It should be reliably defended from the onslaught of parties and movements, from the relentless pressure of parliamentary factions, from the pressure of commercial structures and diverse sector lobby groups. Who can defend the Cabinet in this way? Formerly the president acted as just such a staunch defender, actually taking charge of the government himself in the most difficult initial period of reforms. Now the government's independence is defended and guaranteed by the law. The Cabinet has received this mighty defense in the shape of the new constitution. And in this respect all the talk about the government's future which leaders of parties and blocs

are conducting today, using solely the preliminary election results, are devoid of all legal basis.

Yes, the State Duma could express no confidence in the government by a majority of votes. But after all, that federal organ has not yet even been formed. Moreover, even here the president, who can decline to consent to such a decision, will have the last word. Under the constitution the government lays down its powers only before a newly elected Russian Federation president. That means that the present Cabinet will continue to operate until 1996.

The fact that, just as before, cadre reshuffles can take place within the Cabinet—but by no means under the influence of parliamentary factions or the sympathies or antipathies of individual politicians—is another matter entirely. Cadre reshuffles in the Cabinet will only be effective when they take place on the basis of the actual logic of the development of reform, of the tasks which come to the fore.

This should ideally be the case. But in our country many still prefer in cadre policy to draw on the ordinances of Comrade Stalin. And therefore every one of our homegrown parties, even the pygmy parties, without fail supply themselves with their own "shadow" cabinet and assiduously load their party nomenklatura magazine which, as they see it, will be fired like the salvo of the Avrora, heralding the arrival of new helmsmen at the wheel. But the trouble is that these helmsmen aspire not just to the wheel but also to the pork barrel.

Zhirinovskiy too has stated that he has his own ministers ready—"all with knowledge of a foreign language," choice beauties every one. And Vladimir Volfovich has also decided whom to dismiss from the government: He has issued his verdict against Gaydar, Chubays, Kozyrev, and Shakhray. Vladimir Volfovich is unoriginal in his partiality with regard to these government members. Just who has not demanded the resignation of these politicians—the former Supreme Soviet, the National Salvation Front, the left, the right... How many times did the former Supreme Soviet "hammer" Gaydar, how many times did it call Kozyrev and Chubays "on the carpet," how many times did it take a swipe at Shakhray!

So then, does everything start over again? The new legislative organ, still unformed, instead of clearing away legal obstacles in the way of reforms and occupying itself with law-making is again raising a hue and cry around the government. Such, apparently, is our homegrown parliamentary mentality, such is our parliamentary genetics which no Lysenko can ban or correct.

But is it only in Zhirinovskiy that Staraya Ploshchad provokes the itch of renewal? It is no secret that government offices have had their own plans for cadre reshuffles. Let us imagine that Shakhray's party had won the elections. Surely his fellow party members would have demanded ministerial portfolios from their leader? And if the Agrarian Party had won, hey presto, we would have had Aleksandr Zaveryukha as prime minister.

The Council of Ministers' leaders have discussed and debunked the idea of a coalition government fomented by the opposition, individual political analysts, and even the former Supreme Soviet. We confess that we too participated in this, even citing by way of arguments foreign experience proving the instability and ephemeral nature of cabinets constructed on this principle.

But when the election bandwaggon started rolling, it turned out that the government, which had so persuasively rejected the idea of a coalition, in effect found itself in a coalition. How otherwise can one explain the fact that its members, energetically joining in the election campaign, headed different parties and blocs? If they were unable to overcome disagreements among themselves at the party level, will they be able to overcome them at the government level, at the level of the adoption of state decisions? Therefore, despite the efforts of Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin, in the activity of the Council of Ministers and in the statements of its individual members, and even in the contradictions in decisions being prepared on Staraya Ploshchad, differences can be seen in approaches and in political, theoretical, and practical sympathies. The atmosphere on Staraya Ploshchad still contains elements of a political club, and not of a collective organ. If these tendencies are not overcome, we will again have disharmony and discordance in statements, and even actions. And, seeing that these disagreements truly exist, then they should not be hidden from public opinion by standard declarations of complete unity.

Right now, however much it may wish to do so, the government will not succeed in distancing itself from the changed political realities and in setting itself above the political fray. The government, like every Russian, must make its choice and determine whose side it is on.

Here we should not underestimate the danger that a government body of mixed political predilections will be an obvious and easy target for parliamentary factions, which will without fail try to exploit the political affiliations of cabinet members in their own interests. All this will inevitably complicate the adoption of decisions and provoke a chain of cadre reshuffles, and in the final analysis reduce the effectiveness of the government's work.

In order to avoid this development, we need not simply cadre reshuffles but a major reorganization of the government and its apparatus in line with the new political realities and the logic of the further expansion of reforms. In what direction are cadre reshuffles possible? Here there are at least two options: either measures to consolidate the government's conservative wing, or, on the contrary, measures aimed at strengthening the reformers' positions. It is no secret that some people have already mentally restored the situation that arose at the end of last year when Yegor Gaydar was forced to

leave the government. In our view, Boris Yeltsin would be making a mistake were he to contemplate such an option in the current difficult conditions. On the contrary, in view of of the unfavorable breakdown of political forces in the new parliament, the government should be consolidated as a stabilizing factor through the reinforcement of its reformist wing. These steps could stabilize the Cabinet's position during its imminent meeting with the new legislative organ. Anything but love and caresses are to be expected at this forthcoming meeting...

Efforts To Form 'Democratic' Coalition Viewed

PM1612160993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Robert Minasov article under the rubric "Commentary with an Attempt at a Forecast": "We Wanted Improvement but What We Got Was—the Same As Always?"]

[Text] The arrangement of political forces in the newly elected State Duma, to judge from the preliminary figures, could slow down the reforms and aggravate the political situation in the country.

We would venture to claim that the State Duma will be, to put it mildly, more conservative, more left-wing, and worse than the parliament which was dissolved in September-October. Our half-wrecked ship has not simply listed, but is taking in water and falling below the waves. There are no rescuers yet; rather, there are but for the moment they cannot decide how to keep the ship afloat and put it back on course. They are still arguing...

Counting on the good sense of the leaders of the democratic parties and movements is not a very promising venture, although it is not entirely hopeless. However, past experience is cause for alarm—Russia's democrats have rarely managed to agree among themselves and this was the crunch for them.

The democrats' gamble that by splitting into blocs and parties they would take votes away from the opposition was extremely risky. Defeat was the logical result of that tactic. It is the extreme left which has sounded the victory roll. The democrats are left to lick their wounds and get themselves sorted out.

In this sense the warnings by two well-known personalities—Anatoliy Chubays and Andrey Nuykin—at the ludicrous political carnival during the night of 12-13 December must serve as their predominant guideline. The former said: "I am prepared to be ignored by the press forever so long as we do not have a repetition of what happened in Germany in the late twenties." The latter said: "This alarm bell was sounded in the nick of time: It is not too late yet to create a powerful antifascist bloc."

Those who have ears to hear, let them hear.

The predominant guideline for the democratic forces must also be how quickly a united bloc is created. Not a day must be wasted in getting started because the opposing side's forces, I am sure, are already uniting. As far as organization goes, they are already experts. You want an example? Of course. Clearly not everyone knows that it was the representatives of the Communist Party, the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], and the Agrarians who were keeping a keen vigil at the overwhelming majority of polling places on election and referendum day whereas the democrats were rarely seen that day.

The democrats were let down by their conceit verging on political arrogance. Where did it come from, you might wonder? Conceit certainly does not fit in with our reality with its poverty, its political showdowns, its orgy of crime, economic devastation, and rampant inflation. The extreme left used these factors as trump cards, skillfully manipulating them and playing them up as much possible.

It seemed to me that the Zhirinovskiys and Zyuganovs bought up our airwaves and even clothes irons in advance [skupili nash efir i dazhe utyugi na korne], judging by the way they hogged the screens and microphones, and yet they did not talk about our imaginary problems, even when pressed; they spoke about real difficulties.

The man in the street (not in the obnoxious Soviet sense but in the respectful prerevolutionary sense) gives little thought to the fact that it was the bolsheviks who brought the country to the end of its tether and that it was their heroic labors and efforts which brought Russia to the brink. The man in the street compares: Two years ago sausage cost 2 rubles [R] 20 kopeks but now the price has rocketed to 3,000. By his choice the man in the street protested against shock therapy and expressed his wish: "I want the old days back!" And no idealistic speeches or sensible calls to be patient and try a little harder could weaken the conviction of a section of our voters that the democrats are no good. They believed the promises of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party, the LDPR, and the Agrarian Party, promises with no real foundation. Those people who voted for them did not give a thought to the fact that Zhirinovskiy proclaimed the idea of the recreation of Russia within its former boundaries, which plunged the Baltic countries, Kazakhstan, and the countries of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus into a state of shock. That Zyuganov is fantasizing about rebuilding the USSR although it is not clear, admittedly, how he intends to accomplish that.

I am afraid that parliament will be in turmoil. It cannot be ruled out that its activity will be completely paralyzed. It may even be that the Federal Assembly will split in two or even three. In those conditions it will of course not be able to engage in law making but will instead be transformed into a debating club.

We have been through that. We saw on our TV screens the same individuals motivate not by the fate of Russia

or the well-being of the people but by a heightened desire to grab more power and along with it more benefits and privileges.

I do not doubt that it will all begin with an attack on the new Constitution. The opposition will try to take some of the president's powers away from him and delegate them to parliament. All the legislative initiatives of the president and the government will be relentlessly blocked. That is how it was, that is how it will remain. Consequently the task of the democratic coalition, if such a coalition comes into being, will be to block the opposition's dubious ventures.

But will there be a democratic coalition? The basis for one exists. At moments of greatest danger the democrats usually find mutual understanding, as demonstrated by the events of August 1991 and 3-4 October 1993.

There are no insuperable barriers dividing the democrats into blocs and parties. They share a common aim—to continue the course of reforms and not allow the reforms to be curtailed. They have many concrete tasks in common too. For example, encouraging the growth of production. There are divergences—in the approaches to the question of taxation. But compromise can and must be found. And it must be done in such a way that the producer has an interest in producing a greater quantity of high-quality goods.

A basis for accords exists, all that is needed is the will.

In the headline I used the words of a well-known political figure, although regrettably I do not remember who it was. But that is not what matters. I urge the democrats to do everything possible to ensure that things do not turn out the same as always.

Further on Chances for Coalition

MK1712110093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 1

[Ivan Rodin report in the "Elections" column: "Even Though Russia's Choice May Have Left the LDPR Behind, the President Has Begun Cautiously To Change the Composition of His Administration at the Expense of 'Unreliable' Candidates"]

[Text] Yesterday the Central Election Commission [CEC] announced the results of voting in the federal-wide constituency (as of 0800 on 16 December). Reports about the parties' successes and failures have already come in from 186 election districts. Six election associations out of eight—with the exception of Russia's Choice and the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA]—have slowed down the process somewhat. The growth in the number of votes for the latter, however, is just as insignificant as its fall with respect to the other blocs. According to the CEC, 186 constitutes 96.44 percent of Russia's electorate. Therefore at this stage already one can calculate tentatively how many seats each of the voters associations will get in that part of the State Duma where deputies are elected on party slates. The majority in the proportional representation part of the Duma naturally belongs to the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], namely at least 50 seats. Russia's Choice will get at least 31 seats, the communists 28, the agrarians 19, Women of Russia 17, Yabloko 15, and PRUA 14. The Democratic Party of Russia holds last place—11 seats (the distribution of mandates is preliminary, and does not take into account the remaining 39 constituencies, data on which are still being processed by the CEC).

Naturally, party deputies from single-seat constituencies will adjust, and, possibly, quite substantially, the number of seats in the aggregate Duma. And although Russia's Choice may catch up with the LDPR and maybe move a little ahead, it will be not by a large margin, as promised in reports circulated via the presidential administration. The ranks of the supporters of a particular election association will be also supplemented by "independent," i.e., fairly "unreliable" deputies. On the other hand, lax party discipline in some blocs may result in their numbers' falling. But the fate of the majority and the minority in the lower chamber will certainly be decided by coalition agreements.

At present the parliament's pre-election image is beginning to be blurred by real negotiations and undercover intrigues both between the blocs and within them. The first to start talking about the desirability of a broad-based "democratic" coalition, moreover, an anti-fascist front, was Russia's Choice. It gives particular attention to the so-called democratic movements and parties. Russia's Choice, based on the number of votes received, naturally regards Yabloko and PRUA, not to mention individual deputies from the Russian Democratic Reforms Movement, as junior coalition partners. At the same time, their influence in the presidential structures is weakening, which, strictly speaking, affects only PRUA; this is shown by the resignation of Aleksandr Kotenkov and rumors about the dismissal of Nikolay Medvedev. Ground is being tested for an alliance, an exclusively tactical one, with the Communists. Gennadiy Zyuganov himself, aware of his increased importance, is behaving enigmatically. Yesterday, for example, he stated that his party was in consultation with all the blocs and "independent" deputies. With respect to the LDPR Zyuganov said that, in his opinion, its leader is a separate subject while the absolute majority of its members are people who wish peace and prosperity for their country. In all likelihood, these words should be read as a hint at possible collaboration with the LDPR, should such a need arise.

The most interesting, however, is the fate of Yabloko and PRUA. Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, who is legitimately considered to be a leader who will set certain conditions for coalition members, is a troublesome figure. The best possible option for Russia's Choice would be his replacement by a less ambitious man, especially since this replacement will apparently split the bloc, and then its members could be won over one by one. PRUA, which

was born just a month ago and which asserted its right to existence by clearing the 5-percent hurdle in almost one-third of the Russian Federation component constituencies, is a good partner in principle, but it also has its demands to make, in particular that the chair of Duma speaker be reserved for Sergey Shakhray. According to some sources, Russia's Choice already envisions Sergey Filatov in this position and therefore is apparently trying to weaken PRUA, failing to notice that a different life has begun now.

The political projections taking shape in the minds of analysts or in practice remain political; meanwhile Russia's Choice, after a purge in the presidential ranks, is going to conduct a cleansing and reshuffling operation among its own supporters, also pensively looking at the government whose personal composition, after the adoption of the new constitution, can, unfortunately, be changed only by the president—which, incidentally, was initiated by the now dismissed Mr. Kotenkov. Neither has the idea of annulling the results of the elections, and introducing direct presidential rule been abandoned, although it has been ceded to the "democratic" fringe groups.

Editor Derides Call for Anti-Fascist Front

MK1612102093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Feature by Chief Editor Vitaliy Tretyakov: "Banal Madness. When There Is One Front, This Is Politics, When There Are Two, This Is Civil War"]

[Text] Yet another crazy idea has possessed our blind-faith democrats [ura-demokraty]—to oppose Mr. Zhirinovskiy and the small Liberal Democratic Party by an All-Russia Anti-Fascist Front.

If you want Mr. Zhirinovskiy to have 15 million members for his front instead of 15 percent of the voters, go ahead. Your idea is a shortcut to that goal. And then there will be two fronts, or all that it takes to start a war. A civil war, at first.

Most interestingly, those who were elaborating the draft constitution together with Mr. Zhirinovskiy have already joined the advance ranks of the new front. They thought they were doing it for themselves. Now they appear to have been doing it for their colleagues in vigil and ideas on the constitution.

Cool it, front-line soldiers. You still continue to wage a war, like the partisan from the old gag who was derailing trains 40 years after the war's end. You should be working—in the Duma you were so eager to get into, in the government, at your work places if you chance to go there, on television were you, on the contrary, love to be.

Blind-faith democrats now do not even hold out to the people the prospect of sweet living off economic reforms, but a sweet (sweet because it is against fascism) war. Really, you would thus indeed give rise to massive fascism. The first results of your activities are already on hand. You want more? Imagine, two fronts coming together on Moscow streets. CNN cameras will cover the rest for us.

Reasons for Zhirinovskiy Success Analyzed

Society's 'Moral Complacence' Faulted

PM1612132193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Lev Timofeyev: "On the 'Blow Hot-Blow Cold' Principle in Politics"]

[Text] I believe the results of the recent elections give no one grounds for considering that the Russian people have rejected democratic reforms and voted for the establishment of a fascist regime in the country. The majority of voters understand nothing about reforms or the subtleties of today's specific politics; that is, nothing about what is happening in the country. They are guided not by consciousness but by feeling and faith. And their faith has been deceived yet again.

Seven months ago, in April, the people voted for the continuation of reforms connected with the names of Yeltsin and Gaydar, primarily because people did not trust the Supreme Soviet and did not believe in the sincerity of the lamentations about the harshness and unendurability of the reforms, although it was clear to everyone that the reforms were indeed harsh. The wise people could see where truth and lies lay. Economically and politically unsophisticated people made a sensible choice then in April. Why then in April was the choice so unexpectedly sensible (as we recall the result of the referendum surprised even the reformers themselves and the Supreme Soviet was simply in a state of shock for a while) but now, in December, their new choice looks (again, unexpectedly!) rash and purely emotional and even blind—people seemed to make their choice unseeingly....

Once again: The majority does not understand the subtleties and mechanisms of the reforms. How do they make their choice? By sense of touch: "Blow hot-blow cold," and that feeling of hot and cold is provided by television. However zealously the Supreme Soviet might concern itself for the people's welfare, it was clear that the deputies were preventing the work of those who did not present themselves as the people's defenders but were doing the job the country needed. And that April referendum was prepared by long transmissions of sessions of the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies. People could sense for a long time where it was hot and where it was cold. And the propaganda campaign on the eve of the referendum simply confirmed the feelings they had accumulated. At the time people voted for a cause, for reforms, not for lamentations over them, the poor people.

And then the Supreme Soviet was no more. Was there no one to impede reforms? But here the election race began. And the perplexed and ignorant people were suddenly

presented with a strange picture: The cause, the reforms for which they had voted in April were being rejected and criticized not by the Supreme Soviet but by the people who for them had been associated with reforms. And the critics were not speaking officially, not as part of their job, it was not those with power and intelligence who were doing the criticizing but people who were seeking power, eager for power, blinded by this opportunity of getting through and doing it their way. Patiently they used their patter to instill in uncomprehending people the idea that they would do everything their way and patiently they put in lamentations about the poor people and patiently they kicked Gaydar.

Let us recall that Gaydar was able to come to terms with the fact that he had been removed from the government leadership—and he returned as vice premier. And he could come to terms with the fact that the reform was not proceeding according to his program and often even completely counter to his ideas. What can you do, real economic practice often dictates its own immutable laws. But Grigoriy Yavlinskiy is constantly yearning romantically for the "500 days" program, the possibility of whose implementation long ago became a thing of the past. Let us recall that Shokhin, Chubays, and Shakhray managed to reach a working agreement without submitting their disagreements to the people's court as though they were seeking the people's sympathy. And suddenly in the election struggle they showed that the government was split. What sympathy could they expect here from the voters who had grown immoderately tired of the economic confusion, the rise in prices, and the withholding of their wages?

Disgraceful! They felt a fierce cold. The transmission of the Supreme Soviet, only at random. [sentence as published] Did those transmissions teach you nothing, guys? The people remember them well enough.... And they blew hot, more than hot, they were in a frenzy over Zhirinovskiy's cuteness! And it was as though he was not seeking power but speaking as though he already had power. And everything was simple for him. No problems. He was a fine actor, his speeches were clear. And the extras were still backstage—they showed a pair of "shadow" ministers just the once but did not risk any more. (We know, for instance, that the security minister has a shaven head and already has in his pocket an order for the arrest of the artiste Gennadiy Khazanov [comedian who lampooned Zhirinovskiy]).

Zhirinovskiy has excellent producers. He seemed not to be seeking power but simply waiting for power to be handed to him. And for the time being how much power he had was not important to him. He was not pushing. He was simply speaking paternally to the people. He was giving the people an opportunity to get to know him. And the people like getting acquainted.... An excellent actor!

But the extras (that is, "Zhirinovskiy's party") were backstage all the while. And here is what is important: People had little understanding of the fact that in voting for Zhirinovskiy they were also voting for his extras. We will have a very interesting moment when the crowd extras become protagonists and executors. Are they any good as actors? And will the producer cope with this unexpectedly large troupe?

We shall wait for the broadcasts of the Duma sessions. So far it seems that Mr. Zhirinovskiy himself is somewhat flabbergasted by his victory. He has won as the people's hero and mentor but he must bring the crowd extras onto the stage. When the Duma sessions begin it will become clear again where people are blowing hot or cold.

For the first time people in Russia voted on the basis of party lists. The people did not understand what this was about. Those who voted for Zhirinovskiy's list did not understand. On the basis of the list they were voting for Zhirinovskiy himself but with their other ballot paper for a first past the post district they voted for Ella Pamfilova or Boris Fedorov, for "Gaydar's" ministers, for Yuriy Boldyrev or Kronid Lyubarskiy. For these voters it will be a complete surprise when the crowd extras come on stage. They will be perplexed to find they voted for these people with whom they are totally unfamiliar! This strange feature of the present elections gives hope for the future. People did not vote for fascism. They were simply looking for someone to trust, looking for a warm spot after losing that feeling of warmth when the democrats split up. And Zhirinovskiy's victory promises to be a resounding defeat for him if only our democrats can once again keep from fighting each other, defending their political errors, hindering each other and failing to see the main danger. They must understand that the democrats' task is to build and to help each other and as for hindering building, Zhirinovskiy and the Communists will deal with that. The democrats (and the president with them) have one historic task. The brown-red opposition has a completely different task. And that difference must constantly be borne in mind, put on show, and emphasized. We must leave aside slogans about universal political consensus. We need clear moral dissociation from Mr. Zhirinovskiy with his crowd extras. There is a hope that they have come too early to become a stable political force. There is a hope that they will be spotlighted as they are in the Duma sessions shown on television and the horror which stands behind their arrival will become clear to the people.

In the past year I have frequently written in IZVESTIYA about the social basis of fascism and neocommunism in Russia. This basis exists, and it is very strong. Primarily it must be seen in the mafia-apparatus structures who have monopoly possession of imposing quantities of shadow capital and are seeking political protection for their monopoly. But right now I want to talk about something else: About how it is not capital but society's moral complacence which brings fascists to power, and that means primarily the complaisance of the political intelligentsia.

It was painful to see on the television screens not long before the elections a report on the president's meeting

with the leaders of all parties, with Zhirinovskiy sitting directly to the right of the president. These mises en scene work alongside the text. Yeltsin would seem to have charisma and one can understand his desire to show that he is the president of the entire people, of all parties and all political directions—and also the president of the fascists. And fascism is supported by the people (or rather by the voters who voted on the "blow hot-blow cold" principle).... Nonetheless moral distance is needed in relations with the fascists. The same need arises in the Duma. Not abuse in the newspapers and mutual recriminations. But a sign of moral solidarity on the one hand and impartiality on the other. (Like the yellow star the Danish king wore on his breast during Hitler's occupation. God forbid we should live to see such signs!)

It was painful to hear how during the election debates the esteemed Gavriil Popov, having listened to Zhirinovskiy's outrightly nazi speech (was it not in that speech that the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia leader, giving vent to his racist imagination, promised that there would only be blond, blue-eyed announcers on television?) seemed not to have heard the man sitting opposite him but was concerned with just one thing: Where was "Russia's Choice" getting the money for its election campaign? But where does Zhirinovskiy's money come from? After all, for almost a month his face has been almost constantly on the TV screen.

It was loathsome to see, during the night-time broadcast from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, the democratic philosopher Mr. Tsipko shaking hands with Zhirinovskiy and rushing to congratulate him on his victory. Personally I never again want to hold out my hand to Mr. Tsipko, with whom I used to be acquainted....

The democratic public dreamed there would be a parliament of victors. It turns out there will be a parliament of resistance. The question of whether the democrats will be able to cooperate with the fascists does not arise today and should never arise. Where such cooperation leads has frequently been shown by history. We are faced with another question: Will "Zhirinovskiy's troupe" be able to display at least some common sense and how seriously will they be able to impede the democrats' constructive work?

In brief, only daily coordinated work by the democrats will enable the people to feel and realize what is really "hot" and what is "cold." And the fascists will leave parliament as they entered it—through the voters' will. And we must work to ensure that next time the choise is made not on the basis of feelings but consciously. Or at least in such a way that their feelings do not mislead people.

Implications for Communists Considered

PM1612121193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 93 pp 1,2

[Boris Slavin article: "The Zhirinovskiy Phenomenon"—first two paragraphs are EFIR-DAYDZHEST report]

[Text] Zhirinovskiy's election slogan "I will lift Russia up off its knees" clearly found a broad response among the Russian voters. However, the methods that he proposed using to achieve that aim only guarantee that Russia will remain on its knees, according to Canadian radio.

The results of the voting in the army were a triumph for Zhirinovskiy. The victory of October proved ephemeral and aroused false hopes. The relatively moderate Rutskoy, who could have halted Zhirinovskiy's victory procession, is sitting behind bars. Yeltsin, who suddenly became an old man overnight, is isolated. His era is drawing to an end. His supporters are already preparing the obituaries. Criticism has been leveled at him which until last Sunday would have been viewed as blasphemy. The search for culprits conceals a realization of the failure of his policy. Even now Yeltsin's former strategists have begun undermining his position. It seems that Gorbachev's tragedy is being repeated albeit in somewhat modified form. (DEUTSCHE WELLE)

(EFIR-DAYDHZEST, 15 December)

The Zhirinovskiy phenomenon in the elections to the Federal Assembly was all shock and no therapy for the democrats. It is already clear even now that the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] came first and can count on a quarter of the votes in parliament. "Russia's Choice" lags considerably behind the leader. All the figures show that in third place will be the Communists who, together with the Agrarians polled around 20 percent of the vote. The "classical" democrats from the Popov-Sobchak Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, the centrist "Civic Union," and the smaller associations were utterly routed. The in-depth analysis of all these events will come later, but for the moment I shall confine myself to considering the Zhirinovskiy phenomenon and its possible consequences for Russian political life.

The first question that needs to be answered is this: Why did Zhirinovskiy with his small party obtain the overwhelming majority [as published] in the elections? It is remarkable that as a rule the democrats themselves are not answering this question but instead are responding with a hysteria characteristic of the so-called "political new year" meeting: "Look, the fascists have come to power;" in voting for Zhirinovskiy the Russian people acted like a "flock of sheep;" "Russia, think what you are doing, you have been duped," and so on and so forth. As we can see, in this instance alarm is prevailing entirely over reason, overshadowing even the fact of the adoption of the new constitution. But supposing that constitution is used not by B. Yeltsin but by Zhirinovskiy?

So, democrats, where were you before? After all, you created Zhirinovskiy with your own hands.

It is not as though the television and the press did not cover his election campaign properly. They did everything possible to present his personality in a distorted light. No method was too base for them: Just remember, for

example, the endless repetition of his famous and highly transparent phrase: My mother is Russian, my father is a lawyer. But in politics a leader's national or social origin is not such an important factor; far more important is his ability to respond to the vital interests of the popular masses. And you cannot fault Zhirinovskiy there: His brand of populism was a cut above B. Yeltsin's populism. You only have to listen to the two of them to see who is the orator and who is reading from a prepared text.

But even oratorial skill is not the most important thing for a political leader. The relevance and urgency of the problem raised by the orator are more important. Here, too, Zhirinovskiy has no equals among the well-known politicians.

Remember how Zhirinovskiy appeared on the political scene. How is it that he, a hitherto unknown politician, managed to become a rival to Yeltsin and Ryzhkov? Well, because he was among the first to raise the real problem of the protection of the Russians in the former Union republics. But it is relevant to ask here: Whose policy led to that problem? It was first and foremost the Gorbachev-Yeltsin policy aimed at dismantling the Union, a policy which ultimately led to the flowering of separatism and inveterate nationalism on the territory of the CIS.

Zhirinovskiy is often accused of Russian chauvinism. But why does everyone refuse to see that this chauvinism was engendered by Russia's political westernization, which, in some cases, led to outright Russophobia. For normal people any "phobia" or "philia" about a nation is extreme, but who is now inculcating those extremes in the mass media, disregarding the Russian people's traditions, mentality, and taste? Who has filled all the TV programs with American mass culture and primitive advertising? Who is churning out pornography in the guise of erotica? Who is trying to show that Soviet history was a black hole? Of course, when Zhirinovskiy promises to fill television with white-skinned, blue-eyed announcers that is racism. When Zhirinovskiy demands that people on Russian television speak good Russian and that cheap trashy American movies be replaced by the best achievements of Russian culture, who can object to that?

The Zhirinovskiy phenomenon is not clear cut. It must be analyzed in depth by all left-wing parties, first and foremost the Communists. There is no doubt that the radical democrats encouraged Zhirinovskiy's appearance on the TV screen and at the Constitutional Conference and gave his party the best venues in Moscow to hold their rallies—and all that just to take votes away from the Communists. You have to admit—they succeeded. The Communist Party, the party with the largest mass base in Russia, undoubtedly lost part of its electorate to Zhirinovskiy in these elections. And it did so at least if for no other reason than that instead of propagandizing internationalism it uncritically adopted the national-patriotic idea which was expressed in a clearer and sharper form by Zhirinovskiy, of course. But that was not the only factor which promoted Zhirinovskiy's election success. I am confident that his victory was aided primarily by the rabid anticommunism unleashed by the ruling regime in the past two years.

By working consistently to drive the communist internationalists from the political arena by labeling them "communo-fascists" and "red-browns," the democrats have ultimately come face to face with the real threat of an onslaught by "conventional fascism" and unconcealed chauvinism.

However, the main reason for the Zhirinovskiy phenomenon in Russian political life was the inept policy of "shock therapy" which created a natural social base for him in the form of the great mass of lumpens and owners of commercial stores. It was the shock therapy policy which reduced millions of people to beggary and unemployment. It created among people a general disenchantment with many political figures of a democratic persuasion and caused them to cast their votes for politicians of Zhirinovskiy's type. The attack on the House of the Soviets was reflected in his success.

The mass of the people still do not trust the Communists but they no longer believe in the democrats either. That also helped the success of the LDPR leader. He also received the votes of those who are suffering today from the total lawlessness on the streets and from corrupt officials in the state, who see no way out of the interethnic strife, and who want basic order to be instilled in the country. Zhirinovskiy promised to instill the order they desired quickly and resolutely. So they voted for him as a result. Finally, for many people the LDPR leader appeared as a new leader unconnected with the privileges of the old Communist nomenkltaura or new democratic nomenklatura. This also played its part.

Finally, Zhirinovskiy was supported by private national and foreign capital which wants to organize production today but cannot do so because of stifling taxes and universal bribery.

The radical democrats are now trying to pretend that they have nothing in common with Zhirinovskiy. Gaydar's recent statements reaffirmed that. In their view he is a blatant demagogue, dictator, and nationalist. But is that really true? Did the radical democrats really not make impossible promises and are the ethnic cleansing in Moscow against people of Caucasian nationality, the giving to and then taking away of sovereignty from the autonomous republics, the great power comments about the former Union republics, and finally the extolling of the president' strong personality and the vindication of his use of the iron fist on 3-4 October not a list of measures copied from Zhirinovskiy's program?

Zhirinovskiy's arrival in the Federal Assembly makes a parliamentary majority without the participation of his party impossible. Hence it is clear that he will resort to tactical alliances with various political forces. This should cause all the left-wing parties to look very closely at their conduct in parliament: They cannot forge an

alliance with just anyone. As for the LDPR, it is necessary to see clearly on the one hand the social and class kinship between Zhirinovskiy's party and the ruling regime (his recent statement about the nonacceptance of Communists and his open support for the constitution must not be forgotten), and on the other hand his sometimes acute antigovernment criticism on specific problems cannot be ignored.

It should also be borne in mind that the work of the new parliament will be encouraged by the ruling regime so long as it performs the will of the radical democrats heading the executive. Otherwise the Federal Assembly can expect the fate that befell the previous parliament. Nevertheless, no matter how long the new Federal Assembly works, the left-wing parties and first and foremost the Communists must secure the passage through it of those laws which are so necessary now to people of hired labor who have lost virtually all their social rights and guarantees.

Of course, the Communist deputies cannot and must not harbor any illusions about the existing bourgeois state system or how democratic the ruling regime is. At the same time they must understand equally clearly the harmful nature of the populist and nationalist slogans of Zhirinovskiy and his party. It is only the sensible and balanced policy of the Communists in parliament which can be a real counterbalance to that anti-people policy which the radical democrats pursued in the past two years and which they intend to pursue in the future, too.

Military Support Assessed

MK1612122093 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No. 51, 15-21 Dec 93 (Signed to press 14 Dec) p 1

[Aleksandr Mnatsakyan report: "The Success of Political Toadyism"]

[Text] Overnight from Sunday to Monday, when national TV was showing a new version of one of the "Little Tragedies," a columned diagram crept out of the fax machine showing the interim results of voting in one of the eastern regions. On the smooth sheet, surrounded by short stumps, a column with a barely discernible inscription below—LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia]—stood out like a phallic symbol. And then in the evening the charismatic Yevgeniy Kiselev provided a verbal description of that pattern— only not in the remote Koryak district, but in the army.

Back at the time of the 1991 presidential elections, observers paid attention to the military's sympathies toward candidate Zhirinovskiy. At that time, for instance, nearly one-third of the voters supported him in a number of Moscow region garrisons. And nobody gave it a thought—they did it quite absentmindedly. And even if they had given it a thought, they did not shout: "Freeze!" or at least "Help!" Moreover, there was a richer choice than now: not in terms of numbers but in terms of quality. There was General Makashov and General Bakatin....

Was concern about the "servicemen" the main attraction? No. Everyone was promising that.... The point was (and, as we can see, still is) that Zhirinovskiy came along as a living embodiment of the "servant for the tsar, father for the soldiers" idea. In other words, on one hand, he, a civilian, is not perceived as commander with an extra star on his shoulder boards, issuing orders and throwing his weight around. But on the other, he is unbelievably aggressive and in this respect no general or even major can match him. Just think: Can any of the military brass seriously and openly say anything like the passage that came from Vladimir Volfovich the day before yesterday about Russia's border posts: "The only possible option is to move them further (from the center.—A. M.)." The sole slight miscalculation in Zhirinovskiy's statements about Russian expansionism is irresponsibility. Their logical continuation could be this: "The winner gets three days to plunder the city!" Yet who ever thinks about this in the army, where everything is based on somebody else's responsibility?

Now apply these projects to the present condition of the Russian Army, which has lost Eastern Europe and the Baltics and has become permanently stuck in various Tajikistans, Abkhazias, and Karabakhs. Also add here lack of social security and the military's feeling of permissiveness, which, thank God, has not yet been fully awakened.

What could other blocs and parties offer to attract the military? Ideas of conversion, downsizing the army, and pulling out the troops? Moreover, Cedar could have made unemployed even the construction battalions that are chopping wood. Add here the fact that our democrats have made a colossal tactical mistake. For some reason no one thought about the need to find an appropriate, relatively harmless replacement for the "inmates of Lefortovo." And it so happened that the votes cast for Zhirinovskiy are not votes for him. They are votes against—against Russia's Choice, but not for the LDPR, which has artificially acquired the status of "sole" defender of the people and the army.

Caution Urged Against 'Exaggerating' Results

PM1612123793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Political scientist Aleksey Kiva article: "The Democrats' Defeat Is Not Yet a Defeat for Democracy"]

[Text] So, the referendum on the constitution and the parliamentary elections have taken place. The adoption of the new constitution, which draws a line through our communist past and enshrines in law a most profound social revolution, is a tremendous achievement for the forces of democracy and social progress—a very important precondition for stabilizing the situation in the country. But the preliminary results of the parliamentary elections are disconcerting, to put it mildly. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's neofascist party has surged ahead, leaving "Russia's Choice" behind, and the Communists have

achieved good results. The Agrarian Party, which is close to the Communists, has surmounted the 5-percent barrier. But at the same time four parties of a democratic orientation—"Russia's Choice," "Women of Russia," the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, and the Yavlinskiy bloc—will be represented in parliament on the electoral lists alone.

It is as though nothing in particular had happened. We had seen that the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], by unrestrainedly speculating on the crisis, was increasing its political capital. We expected that the democrats would hardly dominate parliament but would be countered by a strong and tough-acting communist-patriotic opposition tending toward the fighting style of the "implacable opposition" in the former Supreme Soviet. We knew that the conditions of the transitional period, which are incredibly hard for the majority of citizens of the postsocialist countries, create fertile soil for neofascist and other antidemocratic forces. Just as we also knew that the forces of neofascism were becoming more lively around the world.

Nevertheless, there have been serious and alarming surprises and problems. Let us talk about this in greater detail.

First: For the first time in Russia's history neofascism in the form of Zhirinovskiy's LDPR has come to the forefront of Russian political life. This is a cause—no, an imperative—for serious reflection and in-depth analysis. How could this happen in a country that went through a war against fascism which cost it an incredible effort, the lives of tens of millions of people, and unheard of devastation? At least let those politicians and intellectuals who claimed with amazing persistence right up to the present day that we have no "Red-Browns," that we are all in favor of reforms, etc, now be ashamed. But I am afraid that they will not be ashamed. Today they will be sure to blame everything on the democrats, "Russia's Choice," and the president himself, who were unable to find a common language with the fascists, communist-fascists, militarists, and champions of revanchism.

Second: The virtual disappearance of political centrism as a factor that is at all influential in political life came as a surprise. As is known, the centrism of the former "Civic Union" cra'hed long ago, because it had actually become closely linked with the "implacable opposition." Many of us, however, were reckoning on a revival of centrism during the election struggle and during the elections themselves, based on the sentiments of our citizens, who shun political extremes. We were mistaken. Yes, our citizens do shun extremes, but at the same time they desire rapid changes for the better.

Consequently the assessments and forecasts of social development and the very calculations of those democratic politicians who gambled on winning over the center during the parliamentary elections proved wrong and mistaken. True, this was to be done in a somewhat unusual way—by distancing themselves from "Russia's Choice" as a party or, more accurately, a movement close to the president. And not just by distancing themselves but frequently also by sharply criticizing the government and its policy and by setting off the center, with its supposedly excessively radical and unpredictable policy, against some imaginary policy of common sense, conservatism, and all conceivable and inconceivable virtue in the regions.

The tactic proved flawed and shortsighted from the outset. It was absurd to count on strengthening the reforming forces by gambling on criticism of the real policy of the democrats' government, which had already stood the test of time and started yielding fruit and to which, in actual fact, there is no real alternative. It is still possible to understand Arkadiy Volskiy or Oleg Bogomolov, who are prepared to blame Yegor Gaydar for all the difficulties of the transitional period. But when Gavriil Popov, whom we know well from his practical activity as mayor of Moscow, speaks of some possibility of an alternative to the policy of shock therapy, this is simply bewildering. Having done Zhirinovskiy and Zyuganov a valuable service in the struggle against the democrats by criticizing "Russia's Choice," the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms headed by Popov has itself ended up outside parliament.

Third: The stand taken by ex-President Mikhail Gorbachev, the Gorbachev Foundation, and his colleagues and supporters proved just as expected, but extremely shortsighted and, on the whole, groundless. I will venture to claim that Gorbachev takes considerable credit for the successes of Zhirinovskiy's party and for deepening the split in the ranks of the supporters of in-depth reforms. He can be congratulated on this. In fact many Gorbachev Foundation staff, like Aleksandr Tsipko, and many former Gorbachev advisers and appointees worked well for reaction.

In yet another political mistake, Gorbachev started creating a bloc in opposition to Yeltsin and the democrats too soon, obviously seeking to mechanically copy someone else's experience. But Russia is not Poland, or even Lithuania. If you hurry the social process too much and frenziedly fight those who are really implementing reforms, then the present democrats will be replaced not by social democrats but by neofascists.

I will venture to claim that the stand taken by many young politicians who count themselves in the democratic camp also proved ill-founded. The excessive ambition of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, who seems already to see himself in the Russian president's seat, is already the talk of the town. Yes, the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc surmounted the 5-percent barrier. But at what cost to the country's democratic movement? Yavlinskiy's stand is sometimes simply staggering. Either this talented economist has not kept his feet on the ground, believing that under conditions like ours it is possible to live for a further two years without the constitution while seeking the most perfect draft in the world, which can probably be suitable only as reading matter for prisoners in a new

gulag, or he simply lacks political flair, claiming literally on the eve of the elections that the danger from Zhirinovskiy and the neofascists has been invented. Or else he engages in overt demagoguery in the interests of his career. Let this remain on his conscience.

Fourth: Our mass media also worked splendidly to create a worthy image for Zhirinovskiy in the eyes of millions of Russians. Including, probably, the democratic media above all, including state media, which are supposedly in the service of the state, which is headed by democrats. Are those who maintain that Vladimir Volfovich is obliged to the mass media for his present successes all that far from the truth? You could say that they made him into a politician out of nothing.

Fifth: Our creative intelligentsia also worked worthily for neofascism. Not all of it, of course. But a certain, considerable section of it, including the democratic liberal intelligentsia. Again the irresponsibility of many of our intellectuals before society is staggering. Approximately the same thing as happened on the eve of the Bolsheviks' accession to power in Russia or the fascists' in Germany is being repeated. At a time when society is really threatened by profascist, totalitarian forces, many of our intellectuals and the mass media which are in their hands or under their influence have mounted a frenzied campaign against the president and the democrats and openly make common cause with antidemocratic forces and with the putschists to blame for the bloody events of 3-4 October.

At the same time I am resolutely opposed to our simplifying the results of these elections and exaggerating the significance of the successes of Zhirinovskiy, the Communists, and forces close to them, still less panicking and becoming hysterical—which, unfortunately, is already happening. We still have to make a proper analysis of what has happened. But there is no getting away from the fact that these forces have neither a positive program nor, consequently, a future. It depends on the democrats alone whether Zhirinovskiy will manage to consolidate the results achieved and build on the successes or whether he will share the fate of a butterfly that lives for one day. The democrats have sufficient strength and potential for this. What, in my view, is it important to bear in mind?

First, the bulk of Zhirinovskiy's electorate is certainly not an electorate of champions of the ideas of national socialism; it is, rather, an electorate of malcontents. It is the electorate partly of Rutskoy, partly of the National Salvation Front. We still have only to ascertain the motives of the people who voted for Zhirinovskiy. I believe that many voted for him not because they believed in his crazy promises and pledges but because they did not believe anyone else. They were disappointed and had lost faith. Let him give it to the democrats hot, they said, and make them "get up off their butts."

Second, the democratic movement's strategy needs to be radically revised. It is not only immoral but also criminal to split up, to settle scores with one another, and to give free rein to ambitions.

Third, it must be understood at last that ours is a sick society. In addition to being crippled by Bolshevism, we have also experienced profound shock as a result of the almost lightning collapse of the social system, the former state, and the entire system of values. Crisis awareness struck at society like rust.

Fourth, we need to change in principle the tactic of struggle against neofascism. Since it appeals to the most backward and disadvantaged sections of society and to all who are disoriented, who have lost hope in the future, and who have been deceived and duped by the opponents of reforms, we must above all explain to people that neofascism means war. It means blood and devastation. It essentially means the present Yugoslav tragedy, only on a Russian scale.

I am sure that it is in our power to ensure that in the easily foreseeable future people will remember Zhirinovskiy as a special case, and the threat of neofascism as a fabrication by the oversensitive.

Termed 'Wily, Patient Politician'

PM1712111993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Article by political observer Lev Korneshov: "Elections: On a Wave of Denial"]

[Text] The enigmatic Russian character has nothing to do with it. The grounds for the results of the 12 December however paradoxical they may seem were laid by by recent events.

One important reason for the victory of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and his party at the elections was seen by many people in the split of the democratic forces. But the more you think about it the more dubious that thesis seems. The split in the democrats' camp undoubtedly cleared the way for V. Zhirinovskiy. But it could not ensure him such an impressive victory, because in many ways the voters' sympathies were not with the democratic blocs but with the political parties and groupings opposing them.

Today it is already clear that the democrats were not in control of the situation long before the elections. They were blinded by political narcissism, the disease which struck the CPSU in the final years of its rule. The certainty, based on inaccurate, superficial forecasts, that it was they, the democrats, who were expressing the opinions and feelings of the majority of society was where they tripped up and bruised themselves painfully.

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy entered the final straight on a wave of denial. As they once voted against the CPSU so now they voted against the democratic nomenklatura with its noisy quarrels, disputes, and opposition to everything and everybody. And it was not the endless

denunciations in the press, we are hearing now, which created popularity for Vladimir Zhirinovskiy but the constant scandals involving officials on the top rungs of society's hierarchical ladder.

For instance, it is worth drawing attention to the fact that they could not accuse V. Zhirinovskiy (and they very much wanted to) of any financial and commercial machinations or catch him involved in a single unscrupulous business promising personal enrichment. He made a big gamble—not on foreign accounts but on power. And he showed himself to be not a slightly mad original with a shocking program but a wily and patient politician. He waited a long time for his hour, calculated it precisely, and outdid his opponents.

They say that people voted for Vladimir Zhirinovskiy because he was generous in all kinds of promises. That looks like a balm for those who were on the verge of defeat. The sharp-witted Arkadiy Arkanov said caustically that if Zhirinovskiy manages to fulfill even one of these promises—taking the advertisement for "Snickers" off television—then that would already be something. "Your pussy cat prefers Whiskas"—this and similar advertising exercises in a country where millions of people do without a glass of milk for lunch could not do anything but give rise to accumulated energy of denial. The democrats' leaders did not want to see behind a handful of sated ladies and gentlemen, behind the commercial store windows, the real situation in which millions of Russians find themselves. V. Zhirinovskiy did see it and spoke of it loudly and openly. That can be called social demagoguery but it can also be made the basis of an election program. That is how all extremist parties anxious for power have acted.

Incidentally, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party never promised anything special, as an astute politician he restricted himself to sharp but very general opinions. A resolute struggle against crime? Who is against that? Concern for the officers, veterans, young people, doctors, and teachers? How could anyone object? The ending of destructive aid to those who are organizing their own blood baths? That is what everyone thinks, even if it is not said aloud.

I am sure that the government also dreams of halting inflation, ending the plundering of national assets, and improving the population's living standard. And what democrat does not think of Russia's greatness? If he does not, then he is not a Russian democrat.

No, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy did not invent the wheel; he adapted our painful problems for his own benefit and he made up an integral program for himself from snippets of the sensible opinions of those same democrats. And he calmly and efficiently set it out to people of various professions and ages.

What about the democrats, or those who reckon themselves democrats? Over the past two years thousands of interviews have been given to the foreign mass media and tens of thousands of articles and hundreds of books have been written. But that has not made life any easier for anyone in Russia. My foreign counterparts can say a lot about how the leaders of all kinds of democratic parties and blocs inflict interviews on them: They pay them in dollars. But when they found themselves face to face with the Russian voters, they were unable to say anything intelligible or explain anything. The torrents of eloquence ended in political impotence which muffled the voices of sensible politicians like Mikhail Poltoranin or Yegor Gaydar.

Only recently I was worrying about why Khasbulatov, Rutskoy, and Zhirinovskiy were not clashing openly, were "avoiding" each other. It was very easy to say they came from the same background. I found other words—they were from the same incubator. That incubator was built by bolshevik craftsmen in accordance with the requirements of a totalitarian regime. No, Vladimir Volfovich's liking for posing, for gestures and categorical "instructions," come not from a foreign country, not from foreign fuehrers—they come from our own recent ones. I even once thought that he would make an excellent (by CPSU Central Committee nomenklatura yardsticks) CPSU kray or oblast committee first secretary—the "master" of some piece of Soviet territory bigger than France, Switzerland, and Luxembourg taken together. As, incidentally, would Khasbulatov or Rutskoy. A crow does not peck another crow's eyes out, does it? And I am sure that Rutskoy's supporters and admirers gave their votes to Vladimir Zhirinovskiy—one warm sentence about the former vice president in his election speech drastically increased his chances of success. And his congratulations to the veterans in connection with the anniversary of the victory near Moscow and his recollection of how his grandfather died defending Moscow were heard by those who remember the war. In the same way, the promise that he will seek to ensure that Russian boys do not die on foreign land for foreign interests undoubtedly ensured him the sympathy of soldiers' mothers.

Call that demagoguery if you want. Mikhail Gorbachev called it the human factor, but he could not use it. I call it a knowledge of the psychology of various categories of our society.

Former military interpreter V. Zhirinovskiy developed the ideas of General A. Rutskoy and was able to reforge the general's direct orders as confidential phrases. V. Zhirinovskiy's "territorial" program sounded most shocking. But he accurately considered that for many people nostalgia for a great Russia had not disappeared and many Russians felt bad about the insults directed at their Fatherland from nearby foreign parts. The anti-Russian policy of some of our neighbor countries was the ally of a politician who has included in his arsenal the powerful weapon of patriotism—as it is understood at the level of the man in the street.

No, Vladimir Volfovich is by no means simple...

EMINENT DEMOCRATIC JOURNALISTS are unstinting in their insults now. But they should have told their readers and admirers: We did not act on your promissory note of trust. Abusive words flew round the cities and villages to the effect that "Russia has lost its wits." They expressed an absolutely unvarying reaction: They deprived the democrats of many of their wavering supporters. To that was added the obvious panic in the democrats' camp, which was clearly manifested on the television and in the newspapers. Russians dislike it very much when "the top" panics. And in addition the democrats spoke so often of the unfailing correctness of the people's choice that they persuaded the people of that....

No, I am not defending V. Zhirinovskiy, it is simply that I see the image of the Russian intellectual and democrat as quite different from the one which is now being "manifested" in an extreme situation. I venture to advise the democrats' leaders—drive the obsequious fools and uncontrolled self-seekers away from yourselves and your truly great cause. After all, they will cause disputes between you and the people. There are politicians who only feel good under conditions of confrontation. The results of the elections have not yet been summed up, parliament has not yet set to work, yet already the seeds of future quarrels are being sown.

Only yesterday V. Zhirinovskiy was not taken seriously but today they are speaking of a bloc of "all democratic forces" against him. And they assert that we have "woken up in a different country." And they are demanding almost by force that the president say some heartfelt words which would guarantee a peaceful life for the democrats. And the president has already had a weighty say when he proposed the Constitution to Russia! The constitution is the basis on which democracy can stand firmly and hold out. And political disputes.... They are more advantageous to V. Zhirinovskiy today because they attract new supporters for him.

Official Policy, LDPR Seen Eventually Destroying CIS

MK1612153093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 3

[Lerman Usmanov article under the "Opinion" rubric: "How Much Longer Will the Commonwealth Last? LDPR Success May Lead to CIS Collapse"]

[Text] Before the 1917 revolution, all Russian troubles used to be blamed on "the Yids, students, and socialists." In Soviet times on the "imperialists." Today, the "near abroad," which is eating Russia out of house and home, all those "swarthy" [chernomazyye] Asian and Caucasus republics whose representatives are committing most of the crimes, are to blame for everything. This is not just Zhirinovskiy's program. Such arguments are at the bottom of Yuriy Luzhkov's edict on special rules for visitors to Moscow from the "near abroad," and a similar document has been issued also by the mayor of St. Petersburg.

At the time of the state of emergency in the capital, Muscovites together with special militia men demonstrated their ability to crack down on the "swarthies," and so Zhirinovskiy's similar plans would fall on fertile soil. The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] chairman's program, which virtually calls for the restoration of the USSR, unconditional subordination of ethnic republics and okrugs to the Russian Government and Moscow—of smaller nations to the big nation—does seem to be a repeated subject for battles in the future parliament. Absurd as the program is, it will be disturbing the ethnic regions and will spark measures in response. Whereas past chauvinist remarks by Zhirinovskiy as a private person provoked stormy reactions in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, in Ukraine, etc., what is going to happen when he starts to speak on behalf of the Russian legislative authority? He may really succeed in destroying the CIS, if, of course, the Commonwealth has not already died a natural death even before that. In their mass media, Russia's CIS partners are already regarding Zhirinovskiy's success not only as a testimony of instability of the political situation in this country—and are going to look for more reliable allies—but also as a show and a manifestation of imperial sentiments among the people and government circles, especially in matters of monetary-financial and economic cooperation.

As for Russia proper, Boris Yeltsin, before the passing of the new constitution, had a hard time pacifying the Federation components, even after the October events, which made that easier. But battles in this connection—and this forms a central place in Zhirinovskiy's program and the program of the Communists—are still ahead with no knowing how they may end.

Voters Seen Opting for 'Protectionist' Economic Policy

PM1612143793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 93 First Edition p 6

[Dmitriy Kosyrev "Viewpoint" article: "West in No Hurry To Pass Judgment"]

[Text] Someone is already making money out of this today—I am referring to the money and shares markets. There it is becoming clear how the West, i.e. its business circles, is really reacting to the outcome of the Russian elections. And foreign leaders, the most farsighted among them in particular, have no other option than to issue a couple of sharp statements followed by a long period of silence or cautious phrases. I think that this trend will be manifested extremely soon at the upcoming G-7 meeting in Paris 17 December (with Russian participation). The subject is to be aid for Russia. It will become clear there how we are now perceived as an economic partner.

How keenly are business circles abroad reacting to the severe moral defeat suffered by "Russia's Choice"? This is not at all simple. For instance, at the recent meeting in

Kuala Lumpur within the Asia-Pacific Economic Council framework the Americans delicately informed the Russian delegation that they are disappointed with the prospects for cooperation with our country. Cooperation only works outside Russian territory. We were expected to at least export raw materials (let us leave aside the question of how profitable this is for Moscow). But at current prices of energy sources our entire raw material exports are becoming uncompetitive. It is hard to operate in Russia not because of the political problems here but because of the huge taxes, because there are just two free economic zones, and officials' tyranny is incredible. "We have no idea of what to do with you now," a high-ranking U.S. representative, who asked to remain anonymous, said. We would point out that this was before the elections.

What now? Generally speaking the New York and Tokyo stock exchanges have not crashed, although there are plenty of nervous price rises there. Yet what we have today is just an indication, a signal. The real alignment of forces in Russia's parliament will not emerge that soon. So the West has time to ponder the question of what to do: Should it put all its effort into helping Yeltsin and his entourage or should it, on the contrary, give Moscow up as a bad job?

Nonetheless analysis of the election results, albeit very preliminary, can begin—with regard to their effect on Russian-Western economic relations. Admittedly, Zhirinovskiy is an absolutely unknown quantity for the West—and for the Russians, moreover. Whose money backs him, who are his comrades in arms? Naturally, business circles hardly take a serious view of the Liberal Democratic Party leader's election rhetoric. It was aimed at a quite specific voter and found its mark. The real Zhirinovskiy is not of course the man whom we see on our TV screens. Evidently serious people in the West or the East will now take the following approach: They will not so much listen to what he says as look at what he does.

Nonetheless there is something that unites everyone who was successful in these elections, that is the Communists, the Agrarians, and even the "Yabloko bloc." This is nationalism of varying stamps. The key to Zhirinovskiy's theatrical nationalism can be given in just one phrase: We will not let ourselves be humiliated; clear off or else we will attack! The Communists' or Agrarians' nationalism is understandable: Nostalgia for a great power with missiles, pensions, and milk for a few kopeks. The nationalism of Yavlinskiy and his team is a different matter and is only comprehensible to a small group of voters (those who are aware of Ambassador Lukin's views, say). Even the democratic blocs have played at nationalism: Let me run the risk of adding that even the purely economic ideas of Civic Union, say, are not that far removed from Zhirinovskiy's position.

In effect this was the line that the real struggle between Yeltsin and the Supreme Soviet took: between nationalism and, in theory, Westernism. How will nationalist policy in the economy now be pursued in the parliament and will it be so at all? Nonetheless the signal is clear: Economically speaking, the 12 December elections ended in favor of a nationalist, protectionist line of development.

Psychiatrist on 'Pyschological Background' to Vote

PM1712092593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 2

[Article by M. Buyanov, president of the Moscow Psychotherapeutic Academy: "Elections Through the Eyes of a Psychiatrist"]

[Text] Yes, the democratic forces have suffered a defeat; however, I am convinced that we should not dramatize the situation. Democracy is democracy; the departure of various democrats from the political arena does not suggest the defeat of democracy. In political life a change of generations, leaders, and tactics is inevitable.

But there are defeats and defeats. If some democrats had been replaced by others, more decisive, more courteous, and more adroit, no one would be sounding the alarm. But right now the democratic forces are splintered, consumed by personality conflicts, tainted by the corrosion of corruption (at any rate, in the eyes of public opinion), squeezed by forces from whom no one expected such vitality, who were not taken seriously and were not expected to notably increase their electorate. The successes of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] and the Russian Communists have, of course, various causes, but the psychological ones should not be discounted either. It is about these, as a specialist in psychiatry, that I would like to speak.

During the period of the election campaign government officials held themselves aloof from the people. People are people, and should be accepted such as they are. They should not be measured by one's own yardstick. Gaydar behaved as if all Russia consisted of the scientific research assistants at the institutes where he worked. He clearly expected that everyone would understand him without his spelling anything out, that what is obvious to "superintellectuals" is clear to the same degree to millions of voters. But in fact Russia—like any other country—consists of different people, with varying degrees of psychological stability and reaction speeds. And this was taken into account by Zhirinovskiy.

Some more words about the psychological background. If the mass media had presented just three or four reports from the market place near the capital's Kiev Station, where thousands of Ukrainians assemble in order to sell their wares, it would have been clear to any Russian, even with the slowest reactions, that the route of avoiding reforms taken by the Ukrainian Government is dangerous and unnecessary to Russia.

If Russian television had spoken a little more often about what happened in Georgia, which went crazy for the idea of a great, unified, and indivisible state for Georgians,

and which transformed a democracy into a banditocracy, then every Russian would have shrunk back in horror from our homegrown nationalists. If the foreign minster had undertaken a few decisive demarches, and, for example, put in their place the Chisinau demonstrators blockading the Russian Embassy because of the stern sentence passed on certain Moldovan nationalist terrorists in the Dniester Region, the prestige of the democratic power would have been greater, creating the psychological background which would have assured the democrats victory.

Life is life. One should proceed on the basis of common sense and principles of pragmatism. The concentration of southerners in Russian cities has reached critical point, and conflicts are inevitable. One would think that the whole of the Caucasus had moved to Moscow. Instead of improving life in their own independent countries, Caucasians have moved to Russia, and, moreover, are even cursing us for our alleged inhospitability. It is high time that they learned to show a sense of proportion and not to irritate our people, not to stir them up. Stand on any corner near an intersection in Moscow and work out how many passing cars have owners who are clearly Caucasians. It is the overwhelming majority of them. Is this not the psychological background to the ballot that has just been held?

In all times among all peoples around 10 percent of the population live in clover under all regimes. There is no need to worry about them—they will look after themselves. The government is obliged to think of the rest, for not everyone can be a tradesman, not everyone is doomed to be rich. Watching the television, you might conclude that our authorities are thinking about how to make rich people even richer. The fact that Chernomyrdin avoids Bohemian parties does him credit, but, after all, the government does not just consist of this one man. Power is personified by countless ministers, journalists, astrologers, vulgar so-called singers, and other habitues of democrat shindigs —this beau monde provokes revulsion in the working people. This also creates an unpleasant psychological background.

The mass media are full of astrological forecasts whose value is equivalent to zero and at which the normal person cannot help but scoff. Throughout the entire preelection period the television screen was full as never before with advertisements for goods which are inaccessible to the working people, even if they work for years to acquire them. Never before has so much been spoken about prostitutes, homosexuals, sorcerers, and all sorts of devilry. It could be said in reply that the government is not responsible for this—it is freedom of the press. To this I would reply that taxpayers have the right to be allowed not to have their esthetic sense and moral principles offended.

The main bloc of voters is elderly people. The mass media have done everything possible to rile them, deprive them of peace, and not to promise them any prospects. Our people are tired of shocks, uncertainty, soaring prices. They need to be reassured, consoled, promised good things. That is how they behave in all civilized countries. Instead of this, people were told on television that nothing good is in store for them, that they need to tighten their belts; and, as a rule, directly after these words they were shown the feasts of the new bourgeoisie...

We have been accustomed to certain stereotypes, and this too should not be forgotten. We have grown accustomed, for example, to the stores bursting with goods on election day. This time, it was impossible to buy even milk and kefir, for instance—either on election day or the day before. In our country elections are traditionally a feast day, and, this being the case, people scrub and clean out their houses. Moscow was dirty like never before. You could break both legs just getting to the polling place. How were the voters expected to vote?

There was a TV report from the Kremlin starting on Sunday night and lasting into the next morning about how the elections had gone. And this time everyone our TV viewer has long since gotten tired of gathered: star-gazers and healers, who provoke disgust in educated people. If Zhirinovskiy had not included Kashpirovskiy, a man despised by medics, in his team, I maintain that almost all of them (and many friends and colleagues of mine) would have voted for the LDPR leader, for he acquitted himself well.

I am glad that Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin, and Gaydar did not join this mob in the Palace of Congresses. They took account of people's psychology; but their aides, their subordinates, and especially journalists, did not give a damn about the psychology of the people. Not once in the days before the election were workers, peasants, doctors, or teachers shown on television—all were businessmen, the majority of whom, incidentally, earned their fortunes by speculation. Surely this influenced the people's psychological mood?

I am convinced, as a doctor who has studied people's psychological health for many years, that the voters did not vote for Zhirinovskiy, but against many circumstances of life today. Will our rulers draw the right conclusions, will they treat the voters with respect, will they take account of their psychology? After all, it is quite simple; there is nothing bad or incomprehensible in it: Be fair, modest, and remember that you are for the people, and not the people for you. Remember that you will not have another people, or another Motherland.

What has been, has been. You cannot bring back the past. We must go ahead, avoiding previous shortcomings and omissions. **I believe that we should set up a strong psychological service under the government. Politicians need such a body not just during elections.** I have discussed only a small sample of problems from the psychological sphere that arise in the analysis of omissions in connection with the election campaign. Mistakes are committed in order to be rectified. And one should not make mountains out of molehills by exaggerating what

happened. In the final analysis nothing special has happened. The main thing is that the new constitution is adopted, that for the first time in Russia's recent history democratic elections to the highest organs of power have taken place, that unlike many neighboring states we do not have great social tension, and that the people in their bulk support democracy, even if they are against certain specific democrats who get on their nerves.

Advertising's Role in Election Examined

PM1612154693 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 15 Dec 93 p 4

[Jan Blomgren report: "Breakthrough for Advertising in Russian Elections"—from the NARINGSLIV section]

[Text] Moscow—It was not only the voters who experienced the election campaign as something new. For many Russian advertising executives the election campaign represented a breakthrough.

"In five weeks we learned a lot; if we had had the experience we have today we would have planned the campaign differently. We changed our message from week to week and we made the last television video only five days before the election. The whole thing has been interesting and very instructive," Anna Pisarskaya said after five weeks of election campaigning.

She is not entirely satisfied with the campaign of Russia's Choice; of the competition she unhestitatingly declares Vladimir Zhirinovskiy the winner.

"He is the one who succeeded best in getting his message across and he has clearly had unlimited resources. Zhirinovskiy has been seen on television and heard on the radio since the beginning of the campaign," Anna Pisarskaya said.

Anna Pisarskaya belongs to a new professional group in Russia which has expanded enormously in the last three or four years. It is true that in the former Soviet Union there was propaganda activity on a colossal scale, but hardly any of what we in the West call advertising agencies. Today there are over 300 advertising agencies in Moscow alone. Of these 20 are large agencies with over 20 employees.

Anna Pisarskaya, 24, was one of a group of five people who in the run-up to the election sat at Russia's Choice's party headquarters working on marketing.

The group chose three forms of advertising: television, radio, and posters. Television was by far the most important. Each of the 13 parties were given two half-hour prime-time slots free of charge and they were also able to buy additional advertising time. This meant that viewers were given some variety in their advertising diet which is normally dominated by Snickers, cat food, and Russian vouchers.

Television advertising made its entry three years ago and appeared very sparingly between programs. Now it has increased substantially and the ratio of advertising time to broadcast time is 1 to 10.

The price of advertisements varies between 2,000 and 100,000 kronor depending on channel and time. A minute during the day on the education channel is cheapest, and a minute of prime time on state channel Ostankino is most expensive.

Prime time is between 1900 and 2200 hours with a viewing peak for the 2100 hours news broadcast. It is also preceded and followed by five minutes of advertising at the most expensive rate.

"Prices have increased sixfold over the last year, but I cannot say exactly how big the increase in advertising has been, only that the increase has been very big. The problem for us is that there are no specific regulations for advertising on television. This is an issue on which the new parliament must reach a decision quickly," Lyubov Fedorova of Ostankino's advertising department said.

Anna Pisarskaya has no special advertising training. After finishing school she was given a chance at the Matapress advertising agency. Today she is responsible for the mass media department at RIM, one of Moscow's bigger advertising agencies.

"I have gained knowledge through working with advertising. When I started three years ago there were not really any professionals in the advertising industry; it was chiefly film directors, cartoonists, and various designers who began to work in advertising agencies. Now conditions are better," Anna Pisarskaya said.

Today there are three possible routes of state training:

1) Since 1988 at the economic faculty of the Institute for International Relations there has been a section called Marketing and Advertising. The course takes 3 to 5 years depending on previous knowledge and 30 students are admitted every academic year. From next year the course will cost $2,000 per year (around 16,700 kronor—the equivalent of 2 years' wages for an ordinary Russian worker).

2) Since 1992 the Faculty of Direction at the top state Film School has had a course for advertising filmmakers which admits 14 students annually. Entrance requirements are very high.

3) The journalism faculty at Moscow University has a course which is supplementary to the five-year Marketing and Advertising course and which lasts six months. The cost is 300,000 rubles (around 2,000 Swedish kronor).

Competition for places is very hard, and that is why there are also a number of private schools where it is possible to receive crash courses costing precious dollars. But these are courses which have a very bad reputation among people in the industry.

"The advertising industry as a whole will become much more professional over the next few years. On the one

hand those of us working in it today are acquiring greater experience, and on the other hand those who have acquired a solid education will soon be coming into production. We know that we have a great deal to learn from you in the West, but we are prepared to work hard to catch up," Anna Pisarskaya said.

PRAVDA Condemns 'Gutter Press' Response to Elections

PM1612155393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 1

[Nikolay Kozhanov article: "People with Hate in Their Eyes"]

[Text] No, our ultrademocrats do not know how to lose and still preserve even a drop of dignity. What is going on in their camp and in their press passes understanding. Shrill slanging matches, as happens in communal kitchens. As in a colony of crows—mutual accusations verging on hysterics and smacking of, so to say, thieves falling out. In its outpourings MK [MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS] of the democratic gutter press, which, to use its own vocabulary, has been "screwed by anticommunism," has altogether gone over from "the great and mighty" to obscene language, using whatever comes to hand to abuse "the Gaydars, Yavlinskiys, and Sobchaks, who are eating one another up and munching noisily from an excess of self-importance and narcissism." In the opinion of MK Chief Editor Pavel Gusev, it was they who "sold great Russia" (they have suddenly realized! Why, then, did they curse DEN, which had apparently long been maintaining the same thing?—N.K.) and who are now, so he says, "trying out the presidential throne for size with their fat butts." Well, what can you say here! Of course, the democrat Gusev sees things more clearly, but why is he so rude about his own people?

Another author, M. Gurevich, brings down all his wrath upon the Russian people, who have supposedly long "forgotten how to work" and, moreover, were "corrupted from time immemorial, first by the Tatar yoke, then by serfdom, then by Bolshevik egalitarianism." They have been so corrupted, he says, that it is even "the silver must be hidden" from them. Terrible! How is it that these splendid "humanist-democrats" of ours still put up with "these" people and "this" country....

Yes. But how well, how marvelously it all began for them! Just a few days ago, on the very eve of the elections, that same Pavel Gusev imperiously demanded on television that the Communist Party be banned without delay and that "communist ideology be dealt with," no less. Only yesterday our fiery radical democrat, the heroine of the "cardboard barricades" (her own expression—N.K.), imperiously pontificated in the pages of NOVYY VZGLYAD that "in our new rule-of-law state the communists have a single fate: to lie under the bed, next to the chamber pot." Displaying outstanding knowledge of criminal slang, she predicted for wavering democrats—Tsipko, Nikita Mikhalkov, Govorukhin—the fate of "goats," "bitches," and "cocks" [prison slang for informants and homosexuals].

As the elections showed, the Russian people have a somewhat different opinion on this. What now, esteemed humanists? Will you be so good as to drive half the country under the bed, beside the chamber pot...? But now an even worse misfortune has befallen them—Zhirinovskiy. Now, compared with the "funny half-Jew" (a definition by M. Gurevich—N.K.), even Baburin and Nevzorov appear to the MK democrats almost as angels incarnate. The radicals' entire hope is that the man, so it turns out, is "suddenly mortal...."

A sinister hint? Maybe a prompt? But all this seems to be becoming characteristic of the present radical democrats. I recall how Arkadiy Volskiy, leader of Civic Union, remarked in one of his election addresses that life today teaches us not to trust people with hate in their eyes. We saw the heavy gleam of that hate in the eyes of the organizers of the Kremlin television show, when their preplanned "nationwide rejoicing" turned into a shameful farce. Hatred literally imbues every line put out by the radical democratic mass media, spewing curses against their own and others. What has happened to the masks of lofty humanism proudly worn by the crowds of the "liberal" intelligentsia! It only remains to speak the warning which Julius Fucik gave from the death cell half a century ago, modifying it slightly:

"Russians, be vigilant! Do not trust politicians with hate in their eyes!"

Baltic Presidents Issue Statement on Cooperation

WS1612142893 Tallinn BNS in English 1003 GMT 16 Dec 93

["Statement by the Baltic Presidents Regarding Baltic and Nordic Cooperation"—BNS headline]

[Text] Tallinn, 15 Dec, BNS—We, the three Presidents of the Baltic states, met in Tallinn on 15th December 1993 to discuss the prospects for future Baltic cooperation.

Taking note of the Nordic Council and the Nordic Council of Ministers to date and the outcome of the Third Session of the Baltic Parliamentary Assembly;

further developing the views expressed during the Meeting of Baltic States and Nordic Foreign Ministers in Visby on 31st August 1993, noting the very positive Declaration adopted by the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania:

The Presidents invite the Nordic countries to support the Foreign Minister's initiative which proposes joint Nordic and Baltic sessions of Foreign Ministers.

The Presidents trust that such meetings will take place regularly and will form the basis for practical and substantive cooperation according to a "3+5" formula.

Issue Statement on NATO Membership

WS1612142493 Tallinn BNS in English 1003 GMT 16 Dec 93

["Statement by the Baltic Presidents Regarding NATO"—BNS headline]

[Text] Tallinn, 15 Dec, BNS—We, the Presidents of the Baltic states, met in Tallinn on 15th December 1993 to address the issue of our nations in view of the forthcoming NATO meeting of Heads of State and Government on the 10th-11th of January 1994.

Whilst welcoming the prospect of being granted associate membership of the Western European Union as our relationship with the European Union strengthens, we regard NATO as currently being the main prospective guarantor of our security.

Enhanced cooperation through the North Atlantic Cooperation Council between Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania on one hand, and NATO on the other hand, is a step towards our countries' participation in Europe's evolving security structures. Our three countries have decided to form a joint Baltic peace-keeping battalion, which we trust will contribute towards further cooperation within NATO framework.

The Baltic states desire to deepen cooperation with NATO. We regard a strengthened Alliance as a key to increased security in our region of Europe.

We trust the Partnership for Peace proposals will serve as a bridge toward the establishment of such increased security.

Hold News Conference

WS1612141593 Tallinn BNS in English 1003 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, 15 Dec, BNS—The presidents of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania at a meeting in Tallinn today said they saw NATO as the main prospective guarantor of security for the three countries, in view of the victory of nationalist forces in Russia's parliamentary elections.

The election outcome in Russia prompts the Baltics to more forcefully demand that the "Partnership For Peace" program, which so far was an "empty bottle," obtained an adequate content, Estonian President Lennart Meri said in a press conference after the meeting.

"Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have long emphasized that a security vacuum exists in the Baltic region," Meri said.

Lithuanian leader Algirdas Brazauskas said that the NATO Summit meeting, due in January, should invest the "Partnership for Peace" scheme with "a new meaning." Brazauskas said the Baltics were expecting from NATO a spirit of constructive cooperation.

"We wish our route to NATO to be as short as possible," the Lithuanian leader added.

The Baltic presidents in a joint statement say the NATO summit meeting in January "should accord the Secretary General a clear mandate to broaden and deepen cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe and to lend substance to the 'Partnership for Peace' initiative."

The "Partnership for Peace" initiative foresees concluding bilateral agreements between NATO and former East bloc countries.

Although the Baltic presidents, while commenting on the election returns in Russia, drew parallels with Germany in the early 1930's, they said that Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party's success in the elections didn't substantially affect the relations between Baltics and Russia.

All the more so, the Estonian leader said, the Russian democrats now get the opportunity to show their real worth and difference from Zhirinovskiy. They have a good opportunity to "show that they are true to the international law," Meri said. He said he hoped that the "minor controversies" that have emerged in the Estonian-Russian talks so far, are negotiable, and the talks will be lead onto a normal basis.

Also Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis said he expected that the election outcome won't affect the process of troop withdrawal and that the last Russian soldier will leave the Latvian soil "in due time."

Ulmanis said that what happened in Russia couldn't be called "Zhirinovskiy's victory."

The Baltic presidents emphasized that the success of Zhirinovskiy's party hadn't come as surprise to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. President Lennart Meri said that he, however, was concerned that politicians in Western Europe had been unable to predict results like that and are now regarding Zhirinovskiy's success as "fatal."

"Zhirinovskiy came as a shock for Western Europe and America, like once did perestroyka, which thousands of Kremlinologists were unable to predict," Meri said. "It is a problem whether the politicians of Western Europe can now adequately react to what is going on," he said.

"The Western countries should more take Estonia's, Latvia's and Lithuania's word for it when they are being taught," Meri remarked.

In other final documents signed at the meeting the Baltic president invited the Nordic countries to support an initiative which proposes regular joint Nordic and Baltic sessions of foreign ministers according to a "3 + 5" formula.

The presidents will name senior officials responsible for establishing a working group to develop statutes for a Baltic Council of Presidents.

The presidents also welcomed cooperation among the three countries to ensure the independence of Baltic energy needs.

Statement on Murder of Black Sea Fleet Officer

LD1712103593 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0845 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Sevastopol—On 16 December the Russian Embassy in Ukaine sent its condolences, addressed to Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, in connection with the "wicked murder" of Captain First Rank Andrey Lazebnikov, head of the Black Sea Fleet press center. The embassy views this criminal act as proof of the readiness of interested forces to destabilize the situation in the Black Sea Fleet in whatever way, even at the price of the life of a Russian officer.

Mykola Bahrov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Crimea, met Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, on 16 December. According to unofficial information, the problem of crime in the town was discussed. A meeting of the Crimean parliament speaker and the Black Sea Fleet officer personnel also took place behind closed doors.

On the same day the coordinative council of officers' assemblies made a statement, which notes: "Today the campaign against crime in the town is out of the control of the directorate of internal affairs of Sevastopol. Our proposals regarding combining the efforts of the Black Sea Fleet and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine to campaign against crime have not found practical implementation."

The union of journalists of Crimea has made a statement demanding that the Supreme Council of Crimea, the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the security service of Crimea "put an end to the legal mayhem and ensure the safety of political figures, journalists, and all Crimeans."

Murder Called 'Political Killing'

PM1612202193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 3

[Vladimir Maryukha report and Editorial Office comment: "Life in the Firing Line. Russian Servicemen's Death at the Hands of Hired Assassins Must Be Viewed As Political Killing"]

[Text] A bullet cut short the life of Captain First Rank Andrey Lazebnikov, chief of the Black Sea Fleet Press Center. And behind this irreplaceable loss, I can also see other lives that are in the firing line. Alas, officers are dying not in battle for the fatherland, but inside the fatherland itself: They are shot in the back; ambushed from around a corner.

The story released by the Ukrainian law enforcement organs about the officer's accidental death, for which criminal elements are blamed, is unlikely to withstand the barrage of indignation not only from Black Sea sailors, before whose eyes a wave of political killings and contract assassination attempts has been sweeping the Crimea. Nor will it blunt the pain of the loss. Why is it that the best must die (and today it is indeed the best who join the Army and the Navy, and go to the "hot spots") while the scum and filth that has surfaced at this turbulent time continues to prosper and go unpunished?

Ivan Yermakov, the Ukrainian president's representative in Sevastopol, also described Andrey Lazebnikov's murder as a political killing. The dead officer, in addition to actively upholding the Black Sea Fleet's interests, was engaged in preparing for the Crimean presidential elections as part of Yermakov's team. But even if this had not been part of his career, as indeed it was not part of the careers of other Russian officers who have died while performing their military duty, any murder of a Russian serviceman, whoever the assassin may be, should be seen as political, as an attempt against the state whose interests the serviceman defends.

In recent years, we have appealed to the state fairly often, there have been sufficient reasons to do so. But the state must heed the demand to protect our servicemen from attempts on their lives and it must take all, we stress, all measures to ensure that the Armed Forces do not suffer irreplaceable losses at the hands of nonpersons, whom nobody has the moral right to describe as compatriots. [Maryukha ends]

FROM THE EDITORIAL OFFICE: Black Sea Fleet Commander Admiral Eduard Baltin and the Fleet Military Council have expressed their condolences to A.

Lazebnikov's family and friends, having stated that retribution for this crime is inevitable.

In connection with Andrey Lazebnikov's death, the Russian Federation Navy Command has authorized the Russian Federation Navy Press Center to issue a categorical demand that Ukraine's internal affairs and state security organs ensure the appropriate level of law and order in Sevastopol in the shortest possible space of time, find the murderers, and determine all motives and circumstances of the crime.

According to a statement by the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Information Department, Russia's diplomatic service also adheres to this position.

Black Sea Fleet Officers Discuss Accommodation Problems

LD1612210293 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1045 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Sevastopol—According to information from the press center of Ukraine's Navy, Vice Admiral Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy, Commander of Ukraine's Navy, and Vice Admiral Volodymyr Larionov, first deputy commander of the Black Sea Fleet, discussed the problem of allocating accommodation for servicemen at a meeting held on 14 December, in particular the situation regarding the building at 20, Khryukin Street. Several hours after the meeting, at which it was decided to continue the talks, a group of naval infantrymen of the Black Sea Fleet arrived at the building, headed by an officer. They demanded that the families of servicemen of Ukraine's Navy, who had moved into the apartments a few days earlier, move out. They then endeavored to seize the building by force. However, the leadership of the Black Sea Fleet instructed the naval infantrymen to leave the territory. Soon after, servicemen of Ukraine's Navy arrived at the building.

On 15 December, Vice Admiral Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy, commenting on this situation to a UNIAN correspondent, noted: "The reason for the conflict is the 'apartment' indebtedness of the Black Sea Fleet to Ukraine's Navy," and called reports that this conflict is connected to the murder of Captain First Rank Andriy Lazebnikov, head of the press center of the Black Sea Fleet, provocative. According to him, this is the fourth case of the death of an officer in Sevastopol in the last few months. "Both Russians and Ukrainians are victims of crimes," Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy said. Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, declined to comment.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 17 Dec

LD1712072693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0543 GMT 17 Dec 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 17 December, (ITAR-TASS)— Leading Russian newspapers continue to focus on the results of the general elections held in Russia on december 12.

The ROSSIYSKIE VESTI newspaper notes that the "Russia's Choice" Bloc will have the largest group at the state duma, the lower chamber of the Federal Assembly (Russian Parliament).

According to preliminary information, the bloc will have 94 seats (by party lists and by one-seat constituencies) at the state duma. It is trailed by the Liberal Democratic Party—78 seats, the Russian Communist Party—64, the Agrarian Party—55, the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" Bloc—28, independents—27, the "Women of Russia" movement—24, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord—22, the Democratic Party of Russia—19, the Civic Union (by one-seat constituences)—18, the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms (by one-seat constituences)—eight, the "Dignity and Charity" movement (by one-seat constituencies)—three and the "Future of Russia - New Names" bloc—three.

Referring to information from the Central Electoral Commission, the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper writes that poll results were summed up in 186 constituences or 96.44 per cent of the entire Russian electorate.

"It is possible to count approximately even now how many seats was won by each political bloc at the state duma at the voting by party lists," the newspaper notes. "The majority will certainly go to the Liberal Democratic Party—at least 50 seats.

"Russia's Choice will win no less than 31 seats, Communists—28, the Agrarian Party—19. Women of Russia will occupy at least 17 seats in this part of the duma, the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin Bloc—no less than 15 seats, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord—14.

"All of them will be trailed by the Democratic Party of Russia with 11 seats (this information does not take into account the remaining 39 constituencies. The Central Electoral Commission is processing results of voting there).

"Candidates from parties who won in one-seat constituences, will change, and possibly substantially, the distribution of seats at the Duma. Although Russia's Choice will evidently overtake Liberal Democrats (LDPR) and even outstrip them but not to the extent promised by forecasts circulated through the president's office.

"Factions of some political blocs will be increased by independents. On the contrary, weak party discipline in some blocs may diminish their numbers. This notwithstanding, coalition agreements will seal the fate of majority or minority at the lower chamber."

Expressing its opinion on the success at the polls by the LDPR led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper writes that "three mistakes made by the present authorities opened the road to the Kremlin for Zhirinovskiy: the treacherous destruction of the Soviet Union, Gaydar's 'shock therapy' reforms and shooting tanks on the Krasnopresnenskaya embankment (eds: the assault on the parliament building on October 4).

Forecasting the creation of possible parliamentary coalitions, the PRAVDA newspaper notes that "Communists will have a powerful faction at parliament. The Agrarian Party will also wield an impressive influence at the Federal Assambly.

"Both of them aim at protecting the interests of working men. Their coalition is natural and logic.

"They will be backed on many issues (even despite a fashionable trend of anticommunism) by the Democratic Party of Nikolay Travkin and legislators from the Women of Russia bloc. There are also points of contact with the Civic Union."

The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper quotes a statement by Yelena Agapova, the Russian defence minister's public relations officer, who noted that "it is inadmissible and irresponsible to draw the conclusion that the majority of servicemen allegedly voted for the LDPR leader, which is reported now by some mass media.

"It is an open secret that the overwhelming majority of servicemen voted at general balloting stations where it was impossible to make any registration.

"Attepts to divide voters by professions and departments as well as political speculations on poll results are, in actual fact, an encroachment on the rights and freedoms of citizens," Agapova stresses.

In a commentary entitled "What Russia Has Chosen", the TRUD newspaper notes that there is nothing surprising about the success of Zhirinovskiy's party. "The LDPR was heading for success both objectively and subjectively.

"Communists who were in power for a long time, and democrats trying to reform Russia over the past few years, have not brought the promised horn of plenty. Naturally, people disenchanted by the two opposite political forces whom they knew both by their words and deeds, preferred the third force."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA runs a scientific article thoroughly examining Russian-Ukrainian relations in the light of the deep crisis in Ukraine. The article draws the conclusion that the economic and political development in Ukraine is at the deadend.

"Moscow is interested in prodding Kiev to look for a strategy of national salvation," the newspaper continues. Russia cannot be an indifferent onlooker due to certain reasons of historic, geographic, political, economic and cultural nature if circumstances of emergency character develop in Ukraine.

"The policy of 'aloof restraint' by which the Russian leadership mostly abided or sought to abide towards Ukraine, starts quickly coming to an end.

"The longer Russia refrains from turning to active policy, the deeper the economic and political crisis develops in Ukraine and the greater 'undesirable expenses' Russia will have to pay for stabilising the economic and political system of its neighbour."

ROSSIYSKIE VESTI features an interview with First Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets who says that "he looks with optimism at the results of the elections and the referendum".

He pointed to close relations between policy and economy. "Policy is tailored according to economy's yardstick," Soskovets claims. "A normally functioning economy precludes any tragic political developments."

"Therefore, the best way to influence policy is to improve finances, to organise the operation of industry and to give a boost to agriculture," he concludes.

Chernomyrdin Comments After Meeting With Al Gore

LD1612164293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1457 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin says the outcome of Russia's Sunday vote will have no effect on its relations with the United States. Speaking after talks with U.S. Vice-President Al Gore in Moscow on Thursday, he said the approval of the country's new constitution was the main achievement of the Sunday elections and that Russia "will not veer off the path enshrined in the new basic law."

On LDPR's [Liberal Democratic Party's] unexpected showing, the Prime Minister said he did not want to jump to emotional conclusions until examining the situation more thoroughly. "We will sort out our own affairs and put everything in place," he said.

For his part, Gore said "fascism and communism" had not seized Russia. In his view, many Russians who had voted for the Liberal Democrats were not fully aware of Vladimir Zhirinovsky's views passing their judgment on his televised advertising campaign instead. The world cannot afford to remain silent when the man winning the vote and enjoying credibility on the ground talks about annihilating people, Gore said. The vice-president added that neither he nor his country would remain silent in respect of Mr. Zhirinovsky's views.

Referring to his meeting with Boris Yeltsin, the U.S. official said he was sure that the Russian president and government would be able to work together with the new parliament.

Shokhin on U.S.-Russian Cooperation

LD1612131393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1451 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] [Announcer] Mayak's program includes an interview with Aleksandr Shokhin, deputy prime minister of the Russian Government. Especially for Mayak, and at the request of our observer Valeriy Kiosa, he commented on the results of the first day of the session of the Russian-U.S. commission for economic and technological cooperation. Viktor Chernomyrdin, the Russian prime minister, and Albert Gore, the U.S. vice president, lead the work of this commission. So, here is Aleksandr Shokhin:

[Begin recording] [Kiosa] What hopes do the Russian side attach to this session?

[Shokhin] The second session of the commission took place today, or rather this is just the start of the second session of the Gore-Chernomyrdin commission. All committees are due to be heard within the framework of this session. There are six committees in this commission, including the committee for business cooperation, which I head from the Russian side. What is the purport of the commission's work? It consists, first, of a summary of the results of the month of September; second, a summary of the results of intermediate meetings of the cochairmen of various committees operating within the framework of the commission. There were a lot of such meetings. All the committees worked very vigorously and they have all made a lot of ground. In particular, the space committee has prepared about six documents for signing. The most important of these is a contract for manned flights to the Mir-1 station. Yesterday there were a lot of reports on television that it cost $4 million; in fact $400 million over four years—$100 million a year—will be spent by NASA on increasing the life-support of Mir-1 through flights by U.S. astronauts and U.S. modules to this station. This project is a transitional one to the project of the Freedom orbital station where the Mir-2 unit will be the base unit. This is a scheme that we have been discussing a lot over the course of the year. It has now been adopted to the not very great satisfaction to the Europeans and the Japanese who are entering this international project a little later—it begins with the Russian modules.

As far as power engineering projects are concerned, we will not be signing anything with the scientists tomorrow because, within the framework of the recent visit by U.S. Energy Secretary O'Leary many documents were prepared, and now it is a matter of trying to complete the five more advanced power engineering projects in the oil-and-gas sector, including the Sakhalin-2 project, in the near future, although there are a number of problems there; for example, the Sakhalin project cannot be finally completed without a legislative base on agreements in the production sector. So, there are problems of this nature and these more advanced projects must be pushed forward. The list of these is growing all the time. For example, (?OPIK) [expansion unknown] and the Magadan oblast administration came to us today with a proposal to sign a project for investments in the Magadan gold industry.

So, it is anticipated that a number of agreements will be signed—this is a very large package, more than a dozen documents will be signed. It must also be borne in mind that this current meeting is a preparatory stage to the January summit. [end recording]

Gore Talks on Economic Conversion

PM1612163393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Rustam Arifdzhanov: "U.S. Vice President Met With Russian Businessmen"]

[Text] U.S. Vice President Albert Gore needed precisely one hour to perform around 40 handshakes and to hear out roughly 15 projects for investing U.S. capital in the Russian economy.

The scenario for the meeting could have been predicted in advance. Our guys will do the asking, and the charming and the courteous vice president (U.S. citizens

who supported him and Bill Clinton at the elections think he is "simply a dear") will listen politely. But nevertheless....

Unlike his predecessors, presidents and vice presidents alike, Al Gore met not with the aktiv of state enterprise directors and sector ministers who once personified our country's economy, but with the new economic face of Russia. The "Investor's Club," which organized this meeting, invited a sizable number of representatives of private companies and banks to it. Incidentally, the "club," which was formed relatively recently and which is a nonpolitical and noncommercial organization whose members deal with attracting investments in Russia's economy, has boosted its image considerably by persuading the aides of the influential American politician that they better than any other reflect the interests of the new Russian bourgeoisie.

And the new Russian bourgeoisie was basically interested (a) in credits, and (b) in American military equipment, even if it is slightly "secondhand." For instance, Vladimir Shcherbakov, former deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and current chief of the "Interprivatizatsiya" Company, talked about navigation instruments from the United States, equipment for recycling missile silos, and a conversion program for national air and naval bases. Genrikh Novozhilov, general designer at the Ilyushin Design Bureau, having recalled successful joint work on the Il-96 aircraft, proposed that the Americans earmark money for new programs. Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov, currently head of the "Rosshelf" enterprise, mooted ideas for projects to create new underwater technology for extracting oil and gas, the utilization of engines from U.S. military aircraft for civil aviation, and the development of an international thermonuclear reactor. And so on. Gore said that all of this is very interesting.

The conversation, as you will have already realized, centered primarily on conversion projects. The American side did not even indicate in passing that the changing political situation in Russia may force them to be more cautious in certain areas. It was as if the hopefully ephemeral success for Mr. Zhirinovskiy at the elections had never happened; as if this very same "gracious victor" had not delivered a booming speech less than an hour before Gore at the very same "Radison-Slavyanskaya" Hotel on the subject of a total, decisive, and immediate abolition of conversion; as if it doesn't matter who says what.

And indeed, 40 of Russia's more successful businessmen, most of whom are worth several million U.S dollars, link their future and that of the motherland clearly and unequivocally with conversion projects. Imagine just for a moment the significance they will have in Russia's economy and politics once they have joined forces. I tried this, and for the first time since the gloomy day of 13 December things became a little more bearable.

Chernomyrdin, Gore Hold News Conference

LD1612184893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] U.S. Vice President Al Gore, speaking at a joint news conference with Viktor Chernomyrdin today, called on international financial organizations to soften their demands in order to help Russia move to a market economy and democracy. [video shows news conference]

Gore and Chernomyrdin confirmed to journalists that the agreements that had been signed would result in thousands of new jobs and the space projects would bring Russia several billion dollars of profit. They will help us with power and environmental protection equipment.

The Russian prime minister said that only the topmost layer of cooperation had been revealed, but everything will produce good economic effects. Baykonur will be the object of high-level Russian-Kazakh agreements, and the U.S. vice president confirmed the high quality of the cosmodrome and the positive outcome of the conversations with Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev.

We will carry out important work in the sphere of conversion, Gore noted. Russia has lost as much in the defense complex in one year as much as the United States lost in five years. The intellectual potential in your country is very high and in places the military-industrial complex accounts for 80 percent of output.

Chernomyrdin added that armament purchases have been reduced by 70 percent. The complex's potential should serve the whole world and not eliminate itself, the Russian prime minister stated.

Era of 'Space Rivalry' Now 'Coming to an End'

PM1612144793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 3

[Article by Manki Ponomarev: "Green Light to Space Cooperation?"]

[Text] An era of keen space rivalry between East and West has been going on for almost four decades. It has been marked by remarkable achievements by both sides in space research and at the same time turned space into an arena of preparations for "star wars" and led to the irrational expenditure of intellectual resources and gigantic material resources.

This era is now coming to an end. Despite their previous categorical objections, a few days ago U.S. Congress leaders unanimously decided to support the administration's efforts to create an international orbital space station in partnership with Russia. This decision by legislators, adopted by them after a meeting with President Bill Clinton, has given the green light to cooperation between Russia and the United States in space exploration.

What exactly are we talking about? The concept of creating an orbital space station originated in the United States only a few years ago. It was called "Freedom." Considerable resources were allocated to developing the project and major scientific and engineering forces were brought in. However, in time it emerged that the station's construction would require colossal expenditure—in the order of $30 billion. The project's developers also encountered serious technical difficulties.

Then the European Space Agency, which includes a number of West European countries, and Canada and Japan were brought in to participate in the project. The United States was able to shift some of the financial cost onto them—up to one-fourth of all planned expenditure—while NASA specialists were able to utilize these countries' achievements in space technology. But there were still problems. Because their partners had no experience of long flights in near-Earth orbits, just as the Americans themselves had practically none.

But Russian astronautics does have this experience—and vast experience at that. It was acquired back during the flights in "Salyuts"—first-generation stations—and was multiplied many times over during the "Mir" station's stint in orbit, which has lasted for a little under eight years now. Many original solutions in the sphere of Russian space equipment and its reliability are also widely known.

Life itself, it seems, has prompted us to join forces and forge U.S.-Russian cooperation in the cause of creating a new orbital station, especially as Russia already has great work experience in this sphere. But even now, when the Cold War and confrontation are a thing of the past, the idea of international cooperation in space research has had difficulty in being translated into reality. The forces of inertia inherited from the past were too great.

It was only this September that Russia and the United States reached an agreement in principle on cooperation. It envisaged combining Russia's manned space flight program with the corresponding programs of the United States and of their Canadian, European, and Japanese partners. It is proposed to replace the plans to construct the next-generation "Mir" station and the "Freedom" station, the leading role in creating which is played by the Americans, with a program to create a new, joint space station. Russia will begin its assembly, tentatively scheduled for 1997, by launching a new "Mir"-type module into orbit. It will be visited by Russian and U.S. cosmonauts. The United States and its former partners will then join laboratory and living compartments to this module, so that the new station's construction is completed by 2004.

Meanwhile a number of long visits by U.S. astronauts to the existing "Mir" station, the docking of the U.S. "Shuttle" with it, and flights by Russian cosmonauts in "Shuttles" will take place. It is proposed that Russia's share of future expenditure will be $3 billion. The United States will have to pay half of this sum and the second half will be reimbursed in the form of the necessary equipment and services to launch the space station. This agreement is by no means to everyone's liking. The United States' former partners in the "Freedom" project were the first to kick up a fuss. They believed that Russia's participation would push them into the background. Bill Clinton had to intervene personally, and in a special message to the leaders of West Europe, Canada, and Japan he stressed that Russia's participation would be to everyone's advantage, since "it will be possible to put the station into operation earlier, expenditure on its construction will be reduced, and its research potential will be increased." Opposition to this project has now also ceased from U.S. legislators, who until recently feared that the agreement with Russia to construct an orbital station would lead to job losses in the U.S. aerospace industry and would enable Moscow to acquire advanced technologies. The congressmen realized that U.S.-Russian space cooperation has many more pluses than minuses.

It is no accident that NASA Administrator Daniel Goldin called the prospects for cooperation in creating an international orbital station "encouraging." In a CBS interview he stressed: "The United States and Russia will work together with European states, Canada, and Japan not on creating weapons but on the biggest technological project ever implemented in peacetime, which opens up new opportunities for people throughout the planet." "We hope," Goldin went on, "that thanks to the systems possessed by the Russians we will be able to launch a station more quickly, while spending less money on it."

In competent Russian circles differing opinions are being expressed on the agreement reached with the Americans on space cooperation. Specifically, it is being pointed out that, for all the positive nature of such cooperation, relations between the sides will not be totally equal and the United States will receive more than it gives. We are, after all, talking about an agreement with such a great space power as Russia.

At the beginning of last week the Russian Government was sent an official offer to participate with the United States and their allies in creating an international orbital space station. It is planned to conclude an agreement on this during U.S. Vice President Albert Gore's visit to Moscow to participate in the activity of the Russian-U.S. commission on economic and technological cooperation, whose cochairman he is with Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. On 14 December A. Gore visited the Flight Control Center in Kaliningrad, Moscow Oblast.

The signing of a Russian-U.S. agreement signifies that people are starting to beat "star swords" into plowshares for space cooperation.

NASA Chief Gives News Conference on Joint Space Project

LD1612184293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1815 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondents Anna Bakina and Vladimir Rogachev]

[Text] Moscow, 16 December, TASS—Neither Russia nor the United States could carry out such a project alone, head of the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Daniel Goldin, told a news conference in Moscow on Thursday.

The news conference was devoted to the signing of a package of bilateral agreements on space cooperation between Russia and the United States by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and U.S. Vice-President Al Gore.

The documents confirm Russia's participation in the project to build an international orbiting station Alpha, which is expected to go into service in the beginning of the next century. The project also involves the European Space Agency, Japan and Canada. The 20-year project will provide with jobs about 60,000 to 70,000 people and will cost 400 million U.S. dollars.

This is the largest and most impressive project ever, Goldin said. Additionally, Russia's participation will help reduce the time needed to bring the first module into orbit by two years, he added.

Yuriy Koptev, director-general of the Russian Space Agency, told ITAR-TASS that the project will also allow Russian enterprises to test the most advanced technologies and raise international cooperation in space research to a new height. Speaking about the content of the project, Koptev said that two mission control centres will be engaged to monitor the station flight, one in Houston, Texas, U.S., and the other one in the city of Kaliningrad outside Moscow. Russian specialists will be working in the United States while their American colleagues will come to Russia.

Koptev also said that a contract has been signed to conduct joint work under the project between 1994-97. He said an agreement will be signed next week to determine all basic characteristics of technical means to be used within the project framework.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes Kazakhstan's Decision on NPT

LD1612145593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1423 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow, 16 December, TASS—"Russia together with other countries is welcoming the decision of the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan to join the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty [NPT] as a member state not possessing nuclear weapons," Russian Foreign Ministry Spokesman Grigoriy Karasin said at a briefing today.

Thus, Kazakhstan's joining of the system of commitments based on the START-1 Treaty and the 1992 Lisbon protocol has been completed from the legal point of view. "Russia regards this step taken by Kazakhstan as a major contribution to the strengthening of the nuclear non-proliferation regime and to the ensuring of the nuclear arms reduction," he said. This is especially important now, because the non-proliferation regime has been jeopardized by the dangerous stand, taken by Ukraine.

According to Karasin, Russia would like to hope that the resolution, adopted by the Kazakh parliament, will set a good example for Ukraine. Whether an impetus will be given to the spreading of nuclear weapons all over the planet, or whether the mechanism of significant nuclear arms reductions, envisaged by the START-1 and START-2 Treaties, will be set into motion, depends very much on the policy pursued by Ukraine.

Restructuring Far East, CIS Departments Viewed

LD1612222993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1757 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] The number of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's deputies will apparently grow after the New Year. For example, two deputies will divide the "Asian region" (Georgy Kunadze, recently appointed to the post of Russia's Ambassador in Seoul, is in charge of this issue now). One of them is to be responsible for relations with Japan and countries of the Asian-Pacific region (apparently, Aleksandr Panov whom Kunadze will replace in Seoul will occupy this post) and the other one will be in charge of relations with other Asian countries, a top-ranking official in Russian Foreign Ministry told Interfax.

In his words, these questions have been discussed at a closed sitting chaired by Kozyrev on Wednesday. In addition, measures were discussed "to fulfill" the decision of the Russian Foreign Ministry's board on structural reorganization of the CIS department. "From now on the corner stone will be the territorial principle. The Europe Department is to be preoccupied with bilateral relations, for example, with Ukraine (earlier the CIS Department was responsible for these problems, whereas now it will solve only problems related to multilateral relations). Consequently, another deputy minister will be in charge of Russian-Ukrainian relations," explained INTERFAX' interlocutor.

He preferred not to reveal in detail which concrete regions would be covered by which of Kozyrev's deputies. "Everything will become clear after the New Year," he added.

According to him, the aim of "perestroyka" in the Russian Foreign Ministry is to lift relations with CIS countries up to "an appropriate level. As a result of this reorganization, experienced diplomats preoccupied with 'classic' countries will be involved in the solution of problems peculiar to Russia's relations with the Commonwealth's countries. In addition, thanks to this, one can see better what the CIS countries look like from the international point of view," said the diplomat.

Significance of Yeltsin Brussels Visit Eyed

PM1612140593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 2

[Article by Pavel Shinkarenko: "Russia Returns to the Community of European Peoples. That is the Chief Result of Boris Yeltsin's Visit to Brussels"]

[Text] Summing up the two unusually packed days of the Russian president's first official visit to the "capital" of Europe, Boris Yeltsin stressed: "East and West have moved much closer together." For decades, if not centuries, he pointed out, Europe was divided not only by state borders. It was divided by the invisible and visible walls of confrontation. We can now say that this era is well and truly past.

Henceforth We Will Come Closer Together

Russian and Western Europe, having defeated fascism, immediately started regarding one another with distrust. They would peer at one another through chinks in the "iron curtain" more as enemies than as partners. And neither perestroyka nor democratization and statements about reforms could alter this image. Only the disbandment of the Supreme Soviet and the naming of the date of the elections to the Federal Assembly and of the referendum on the new Constitution persuaded people that Russia really had embarked on the path of thoroughly replacing the totalitarian system. Talks on concluding a comprehensive agreement on cooperation between Russia and the European Union, as the leading institution uniting 12 countries of the continent, became more intensive. It was this that enabled the Russian Federation president to meet on 8-10 December with all 12 EC countries' leaders at once.

The chief result of the talks is enshrined in the Joint Political Declaration on Partnership and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the EC, signed by Boris Yeltsin and also by EC Council President Jean-Luc Dehaene (the prime minister of Belgium, currently chairing the leading EC bodies) and EC Commission President Jacques Delors.

"New relations of partnership and cooperation are breaking out between us today," Jacques Delors said at the ceremony. The EC is now Russia's most important trade partner. The EC countries import 27 times as many Russian products as the United States. "The European Union would never make such a many-sided and binding agreement with Russia without being fully confident that Russia is prepared to take the path of building democracy and an open economy." At the same time, the EC and Russia need one another, according to him. "Our collaboration is intended to play a stabilizing role in the world," he noted. "Russia is a great power, so it plays a very important role in the world. Our cooperation will bring to the whole of Europe stability, security, and the prosperity its peoples are expecting us to provide."

But They Said an Agreement....

That, more or less, was the way the skeptics greeted the announcement of the signing of the political declaration. Why was the agreement with the EC not signed immediately?

"Talks on this document have been going on for more than a year," Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev explained. "But only recently did we manage to convince our partners that Russia is a normal democratic state and not a replica of the former USSR. At the same time, Russia is a great power which even now is capable of exporting goods and services of a quite high standard and in massive amounts. So time is needed, in the first place, in order to remove barriers erected during the Cold War years and, in the second place, to introduce Russian exporters to the European market, which we have been kept out of largely by artificial means or we ourselves have not ventured into.

The Foreign Ministry chief stressed that the lobbying groups had specific interests. Their purpose was to prevent competition. So the country's leadership and Russian diplomats had to use a political battering ram to surmount the problems and make allies of states and publics that appreciate the significance of Russia's participation in European economic life.

"The Russian Federation president's visit took place at a time when the text of the agreement was already 99 percent prepared," Andrey Kozyrev explained. "Two or three points remained to be agreed at the highest level. They have now been adjusted and the document can be made ready for signing...."

According to the minister, it is technically impossible to do this quickly: The agreement has more than 100 pages. Moreover, it has to be translated into all the state languages of the EC countries. So it was deemed possible to sign a political declaration formulating the main accords in concise form. The agreement, though, will be signed later, at a lower level. At a meeting of foreign ministers, for example.

Russia—NATO's Partner?

Why not? Now that global confrontation between the two military-political blocs is a thing of the past, one cannot rule out not only partnership, but Russia's membership of the North Atlantic Alliance. But on condition that the NATO alliance itself is significantly transformed and the military-political situation in Europe changes.

"In European political circles people are increasingly saying that peace and stability on the continent cannot be ensured without Russia's participation," Vyacheslav Kostikov, the Russian Federation president's press secretary, said, commenting on Boris Yeltsin's conversation with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner and other EC leaders. But the interlocutors' views on the North Atlantic Alliance were "very similar." In particular, the Russian leader believes that if Europe takes the path of admitting the East European countries to NATO, it would be seen as detrimental to Russia.

Could they join a military bloc with Russia? And what about Russia itself? EC Commission President Jacques Delors put this very question to the president.

The impression is, Vyacheslav Kostikov said, talking about this issue, that Europe would welcome such a decision by Moscow. But Boris Yeltsin believes that it should not be rushed, considering the whole range of geopolitical factors. "Before taking this step, it is necessary to analyze all its consequences, he said in reply to the EC Commission president's suggestion.

Boris Yeltsin and his interlocutors did not leave out of consideration the nuclear weapons in Ukraine. In particular, the opinion was expressed that the Ukrainian parliament's ratification of the START I Treaty with certain reservations "smacks of hypocrisy." Ukraine is playing a cunning game: It is apparently prepared to hand over some warheads to Russia, but, as Boris Yeltsin made clear, they are old warheads, coming to the end of their lives, while Kiev is reluctant to surrender the new SS-24's at the moment. This creates serious problems for European security. This has given rise to the question of Russia and the EC making a "concentrated impact" on Ukraine. "Europe does not intend to make concessions to Ukraine with regard to its nuclear status," was the press secretary's opinion. According to Russian Federation Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who also participated in the conversation with the NATO secretary general, Manfred Woerner promised to "make the necessary effort to step up this process."

Since the Days of Peter the Great

Indeed it was then, or, to be more precise, in 1717, that a Russian State head last visited Belgium. In that year long ago Peter I went to Brussels to learn a trade and thereby enrich his own country. Nearly three centuries on the president has gone there too.

Having pointed out this historic fact, Andrey Kozyrev added:

"In the international arena, as in domestic politics, the former Soviet Union suffered from megalomania and geared itself predominantly to the great powers, primarily the United States. Now we are overcoming this syndrome...."

The new approach is exemplified by Boris Yeltsin's official visit to Belgium, which preceded the meeting with the EC and NATO leaders. The conversation with King Albert II of the Belgians and the talks with Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene ended with the signing of a Treaty of Accord and Cooperation between the two countries. This bilateral document, the first of its kind, says that both sides "will develop their relations as friendly states, on the basis of equality and respect for sovereignty and political independence." This new kind of accord and partnership is based on the sides' determination to "overcome the consequences of Europe's split into opposing blocs." Moreover, "security and stability will be based on dialogue, partnership, and cooperation, and also on the practical implementation of the principle of defense sufficiency." Russia and Belgium confirmed their adherence to the 1968 nuclear nonproliferation treaty and also to international agreements and conventions demanding a ban on the development, production, and stockpiling of other types of weapons of mass destruction.

The treaty pays special attention to deepening economic ties. Industry and energy, agriculture and transport, privatization, trade, and financial services—everything is given impetus for development. The military sphere is not forgotten either. There was particular mention of successful collaboration between the Russian and Belgian troop contingents in the peacemaking force in the former Yugoslavia. In the future,it is proposed that military contacts be conducted on the basis of bilateral programs, in which, it appears, considerable space will be devoted to the exchange of military delegations.

"Russia has returned once more to the community of European peoples, and it is called upon to play the role that historically belongs to it," Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene said, summing up his talks with the Russian guest. Boris Yeltsin arrived at the same conclusion. "Russia has at last started to join up with Europe," he said. "I believe that Russia as a whole and the Europeans have gained as a result of this."

Chernomyrdin Visits Hungarian Embassy To Offer Condolences

LD1612201293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1425 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] 16 December, TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin visited the Moscow-based Hungarian Embassy and expressed deep condolences on the death of his Hungarian counterpart Jozsef Antall on behalf of the Russian Government and President Boris Yeltsin.

South Africans See Scope for Cooperation in Arms Trade

PM1612141193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 3

[Report by Aleksandr Bokhonko of ITAR-TASS: "It Is Extremely Difficult to Break Into the Arms Market Alone"]

[Text] South African businessmen are proposing cooperation with Russia in the sphere of the production and sale of arms. Pierre Menring [surname as transliterated], who runs South Africa's largest military-industrial concern "Armscor," believes that this type of cooperation has pretty good prospects. "We have developed an integrated [yedinyy] electronic system for submarines which includes a system of sonar detection and ranging, navigation equipment, and a system for controlling the ship and initiating fire," he said in an interview for the ITAR-TASS correspondent. "This modern system, whose efficiency is proven, is in our view ideally suited to your submarines and ships of between 1,500 and 2,000 tonnes displacement. Now our corporation is seeking partners to market joint production. The submarines produced in your country are efficient and cheap. We could set up a joint venture with Russia, equipping your submarines with our electronics, and sell the product in other countries. By far, the most promising markets are Africa and South America. Russia could make use of our stable links in these regions for commercial purposes."

Johan Oldt [surname as transliterated], acting manager of the Atlas Aviation Company, which is part of the "Denel" [as transliterated] concern, is convinced that there are pretty good prospects for cooperation between Russia and South Africa in the sphere of military aviation. "We want to forge contacts with your 'Oboroneksport' in the output of joint production for sale to third countries," he says. "Your country has marvelous flight technology, but its electronic equipment leaves something to be desired. Our concern produces state-of-the-art electronic equipment for miltary aircraft and helicopters, equal to Western models in terms of quality and reliability. We may have points of mutual interest here. The sale of joint production would reap a profit for both our countries and create jobs in the defense industry."

Another factor militating in favor of military cooperation between South Africa and Russia for the purpose of selling military hardware, as the representatives of Armcor and Denel explained, is the fact that it is extremely difficult to break into other countries' markets with military output singlehandedly. The United States, France, and Britain will not let rivals in. It is only possible to circumvent competitors by producing higher quality with lower prices—which is precisely the thinking behind a partnership between the Russian Federation and South Africa.

For the first time, South Africa's largest arms producers took part in the "Lima-93" international exhibition of arms and military hardware staged in Malaysia, exhibiting there a wide range of modern production including a new invention—the "Rooivalk." Armscor General Director Tilman de Vaal [name as transliterated] declared that the concern will open a permanent mission in South East Asia very soon. "Of course, UN sanctions in respect of South Africa in the sphere of armaments are still in force. We are seeking partners for the future," he says. "I am convinced that sanctions will be lifted once the elections take place next year."

Foreign Ministry 'Concerned'

LD1612183693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1236 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Moscow, 16 December, TASS—Russia is concerned over the political situation in South Africa and calls on the leaders of all political trends to show restraint and realism in the crucial period of South African history, according to Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman.

Grigoriy Karasin told a briefing on Thursday that the Russian Foreign Ministry is concerned over the fact that ultra-right and ultra-left forces of South Africa refused to work in the transitional Executive Council and embarked on the path of open rejection of the draft interim constitution.

As a result the danger of armed contrapposition of various political groups can emerge and destabilise the situation in South Africa, he said.

Middle East Arms Sales Will Not Upset 'Strategic Balance'

LD1612201393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1401 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo, 16 December, TASS—Russia intends to take root at the Middle East weapons market, but when exporting armaments to those countries, it will be guided by the need for preserving strategic balance there, Viktor Posuvalyuk, director of the African and Middle East Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry, told ITAR-TASS. He led a Russian delegation at the two-day session of the international coordinating committee for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, which ended here today.

According to Posuvalyuk, Russia is going to "start operations at Middle East weapons markets, observing at the same time the international norms and proceeding from the principle of reasonable sufficiency... Many countries are operating on the weapons market of that region, and we see no reason why Russia should not be among them, especially because our country can offer some types of armaments, which surpass similar Western armaments by their characteristics."

He expressed hope that the world community would react "calmly and with understanding" to Russia's presence at the Middle East weapons market and stressed, that in shaping its arms exports strategy Russia would pay priority attention to ensuring stability in the region. "For instance, now we are starting operations at the weapons markets of six Arab countries of the Gulf, taking into account that they are peaceful states, which do not intend to attack anybody. Arms deliveries to those countries will not create a threat to the security of other countries of the region," he said.

Political & Media Issues

Yeltsin Aide Notes Possibility of Further Dismissals

LD1612203693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Commenting on Boris Yeltsin's decrees [dismissing top officials], Anatoliy Krasikov, head of the presidential press service, in his interview to POST-FACTUM agency did not rule out the possibility of a number of new decrees leading to the dismissal of other top officials being issued in the very near future.

Security Minister's Departure Rumored

MK1712103093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Hold the Front Page!" rubric: "Security Minister's Resignation Coming"]

[Text] According to information MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS has received from trustworthy sources, an edict is being prepared in the Russian president's apparatus on dismissing Nikolay Golushko from the position of security minister.

Boris Yeltsin's staff explains the imminent resignation first and foremost by the fact that the Russian Federation Security Ministry incorrectly informed the president about the alignment of forces on the eve of the elections. Besides, the security minister is getting his comeuppance in connection with the October revolt and his record as head of the secretariat under Kryuchkov (at that time Nikolay Golushko, incidentally, met with Zhirinovskiy several times for some reason or other), for having been in charge of the Fifth Directorate (combating dissent), and for having directed Ukraine's KGB even after it had declared independence.

It has become known to MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS that the edict on the security minister's dismissal may be signed no later than the middle of the next week.

Unions Urge Labor Minister's Dismissal

LD1612223893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1757 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Russia's trade unions demand that President Boris Yeltsin urgently release Russia's Labor Minister Gennady Melikyan of his duties and appoint a minister to represent free trade unions.

In their address leaders of independent trade unions of miners, air controllers, dockers, of the association SOTSPROF and others say that "the share of lumpinized elements, a feeding environment for extremist political groupings like Liberal Democratic Party of Russia and Communist Party of the Russian Federation, has greatly grown among the population."

Due to this, authors of this address insist on adopting urgent measures "to revise the authorities' approach towards the reform of labor relations and to turn towards Russia's major population—hired workers and members of their families."

Departure of Shakhray, Shokhin Said Likely

LD1612224393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1757 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Sergey Stankevich, presidential political adviser, and Aleksandr Kotenkov, chief of the state and legal department under the Russian President, will not be the only ones to be sacked. They are likely to be followed by Vice Premiers Aleksandr Shokhin and Sergey Shakhray, said director of the Center for the Strategic Analysis and Forecast, Dmitriy Olshanskiy, addressing Thursday [16 December] those present at the round-table discussions devoted to the election results and organized by Gorbachev Fund.

Dmitriy Olshanskiy has told INTERFAX that at present, power in Russia has fragmented. He believes following the recent parliamentary elections, the government is unable to function as a single whole and the elections only aggravated the situation in the country.

Olshanskiy believes that late winter-early spring of 1994 may prove dramatic for Russia economically and politically. Mass demonstrations and upheavals are in store for us in the spring, he said. Commenting on the election results and the success of the Liberal Democrats, he said that those such [as received] was the people's reaction to the October developments and the shock methods of economic reform.

Ouster of Stankevich, Kotenkov, Bragin Examined

MK1712112093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 1

[Sergey Parkhomenko report under the "Authority" rubric: "A New Kremlin Purge"]

[Text] Most observers are inclined to see the three edicts on ousting high-ranking officials signed by Boris Yeltsin in the past two days as the first corollary of the protracted "analysis of the elections and constitutional referendum results," the need for which has been cited all this time by Kremlin sources as the reason for their patron's persistent silence after 12 December. Meanwhile, it appears that in each of these cases the "top" was guided by entirely different considerations.

As for outgoing presidential adviser Sergey Stankevich, one can evidently say only one thing: The last of the interregional Mohicans to linger in the president's "inner circle," logically speaking, he should have left his Kremlin apartments at best together with Galina Starovoytova one year ago. The fact that Mr. Stankevich managed to survive Methuselah's age there appears to be attributable to the fact that his existence had simply been forgotten. According to knowledgeable administration

staffers, his influence on the activity of the presidential staff was absolutely nil for many months. So, what had transpired long ago was simply brought in line with the labor code.

The dismissal of Aleksandr Kotenkov, chief of the State Legal Administration [SLA], is a somewhat more complex matter. Small wonder that the victim himself attributes it to the president's displeasure with the SLA chief's activity as head of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord election campaign. It cannot be ruled out that this reason indeed affected Boris Yeltsin's decision. If the Russian Federation president acted exclusively out of vengefulness, however, his step will have to be deemed as counterproductive: Judging from my own observations, I can assure that it was real military discipline that reigned in Shakhray's head office, which Aleksandr Kotenkov steered firmly, energetically, and ingeniously, to the envy of many rivals.

Entirely different considerations, however, appear to have had much more weight. In the president's entourage, there is undoubtedly no shortage of people, even without Mr. Kotenkov, who see access to the process of drawing up presidential edicts as one of the most powerful mechanisms of wielding bureaucratic clout. The prospects for cohabitation with an unpredictable and unruly State Duma that does not have a stable majority raise the ante in this game for the right to appraise and edit drafts to be submitted for signing. In addition, there is another formidable rival who joined in the legal advisers' argument over the "right to the last night"—many people in the Kremlin remember the unbending resoluteness with which Sergey Filatov defended his privilege to supervise the procedure of editing the draft constitution till the ceremonial moment of the president's signing... Given these circumstances, Aleksandr Kotenkov turned out entirely unwanted.

Even the reasons for ousting Vyacheslav Bragin, president of the "Ostankino" television and radio company, should not be reduced solely to the failure that crowned his effective supervision of the state television campaigning in favor of "democratic candidates." One had to work very hard, though, to bring to naught all the immense advantages enjoyed by the leaders of pro-presidential blocs invested with ministerial authority. One also had to have great enthusiasm for experiments to equip basically attractive, educated, and modern people with only a set of blunt and rusty tools borrowed from a museum of glorious achievements of agitation and propaganda veterans. This is all true...

We should by no means forget, however, that throughout Boris Yeltsin's tenure as president "Ostankino" has remained "a zone of vital interests" and hence a zone of direct influence by Mikhail Poltoranin. It is this fact that has sent the very first commentators on the hapless Mr. Bragin's dismissal searching for future candidates among none other than Federal Information Center [FIC] chiefs (Sergey Yushenkov's name has come most often to mind, but apparently this is still too daring and "direct" a suggestion). As for a stance maintained for many months in Russian top echelons by Mr. Poltoranin himself, it is mostly reminiscent of that adopted by a person setting his legs and arms firmly across two door jambs.

One can, however, only envy the firmness of this posture. Countless efforts by a great majority of presidential team members to close the FIC have never yielded any results. Nor have attempts to put an end to Mr. Poltoranin claims to the post of press minister once and for all been any more successful.

Who knows what may be heard now amid this tense heavy breathing caused by the scramble for the exits? And what did Anatoliy Krasikov, chief of the presidential press service, mean when referring on radio to "a castling series" in which these three dismissals "may well be not the last ones?"

FIC Deputy Defends Bragin

LD1612223793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1757 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] First Deputy of the Federal Information Center [FIC], co-leader of the Russia's Choice bloc Sergey Yushenkov considers the accusations against the former chairman of the TV and radio broadcasting company "Ostankino", Vyacheslav Bragin, as groundless. He was accused of incompetent organization of TV activities during the election campaign. He told Interfax Thursday [16 December] that a scapegoat was needed following the success of the opposition forces at the elections.

The Russian president dismissed Bragin Thursday.

At the same time, Yushenkov agreed that television's work was unsatisfactory during the campaign. He believes, however, that the poorly thought out regulations on how to cover the election campaign and the document on information guarantees for the candidates prepared by the Central Election Commission are the main reasons.

Yushenkov said that according to the regulations, journalists were prohibited to comment on the speeches delivered by leaders of parties and blocs. In addition, candidates were able to speak lies both free of charge or for pay, he said.

KURANTY Interviews Bragin

MK1712121093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 4

[Interview with Vyacheslav Bragin, former chairman of the Ostankino TV and Radio Company, by Lidiya Lukyanova; place and date not given: "It Is No Good Blaming the Messengers... Vyacheslav Bragin's Last Interview in His Capacity as Chairman of the Ostankino TV and Radio Company"]

[Text] [Lukyanova] In the evenings during the election campaign Zhirinovskiy was constantly on the TV screen,

in prime time. Is it true that Ostankino gave him more paid air time than the leaders of other parties?

[Bragin] By tradition, viewers are inclined to ascribe all political programs to Ostankino, although many of them were shown on other channels. This was also the case with Zhirinovskiy. He bought air time not only on our channel, as can be seen from the table below.

We have acted strictly in line with the election campaign regulations issued by the Central Electoral Commission [CEC]. Candidates from all parties and blocs were given equal air time to present their programs. Those who wanted to, bought additional air time, submitting an application in advance.

V. Zhirinovskiy bought 84 minutes—less than three parties. In accordance with CEC regulations, he was free to use it at his own discretion. And he did it more rationally than, let us say, Russia's Choice. He appeared only in person; he allotted his time among eight short programs, while Russia's Choice had only five. Therefore the impression was formed that Zhirinovskiy never went off the air.

[Lukyanova] Of course, money is essential, but is it moral to earn it by selling air time—moreover, without any restrictions—to politicians engaged in election campaigning? Not all parties have the same financial resources, and therefore campaigning conditions were unequal.

[Bragin] It was not our task to get rich off the candidates—quite the contrary, we halved the price of one minute of air time for them.

[Lukyanova] Do you suppose that campaigning rules established by the CEC are without flaw? Was it reasonable to forbid journalists to comment on election speeches? The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] leader called for war from the TV screen and then sought to provoke ethnic strife, while the CEC arbitration court, watching his presentations (as we were told), did not see anything illegal about this propaganda and did not rule to take the speaker off the air. How could the Ostankino journalists have possibly tolerated this, leaving it with no commentary?

[Bragin] This question should be addressed not to me, but I believe that the CEC has displayed timidity. Ostankino journalists objected to parliamentary candidates' appearing live on the air without a commentator. What we saw there were talking heads which very often could not even explain their programs. At the closing stage of the election campaign we finally held two roundtables to promote some competition between the programs, and the party and bloc leaders themselves had to prove the feasibility of their promises. But the train has left....

Ostankino journalists saw Zhirinovskiy gaining points, set to overtake Russia's Choice. From my point of view, the Russia's Choice bloc conducted its campaign sluggishly and not always in a well-conceived manner. For his part Mr. Zhirinovskiy targeted various social groups of the population, promising to each particular one what it was expecting the most from the government but was not getting. He was persuading the credulous that he would soon fulfill all their hopes, once they had voted for him. Add here the fragmentation of the democratic forces, their internecine strife and struggle for power, which sickened society. It is naive to suppose that public opinion can be molded only by election campaigning.

The phenomenal popularity of the LDPR leader among part of society lies not in his frequent appearances on the TV screen; this is a superficial view. It is dangerous to gloss over the essence of political phenomena and to shift responsibility for them only onto journalists. Society is already tired of the power hassle among the authorities; it has suffered a great deal from the slow and inconsistent implementation of socioeconomic reforms. Failing to see their results, many people have lost faith in the government's ability to raise their living standards. Moreover, our citizens have been taught to believe that they are getting all the benefits from the government leader's pocket. So they fell for Mr. Zhirinovskiy's vulgar promises to fulfill their hopes almost overnight. Hardly anyone has the right to rebuke the electorate for its choice. The politicians have only themselves to blame.

[Lukyanova] On the eve of election day Ostankino showed a documentary called "The Falcon," about Mr. Zhirinovskiy. Some say angrily that thereby Ostankino provided additional advertising for the benefit of Zhirinovskiy, and they want to know how much he paid the company leadership for that. Other viewers think that the film is perfect and that it graphically exposes the socially dangerous ideology of the LDPR leader with his own statements. Still others, sharing the positive assessment of the film, say that in the end it has worked for Mr. Zhirinovskiy because his speeches were again left without comment, while the majority of people are accustomed to having ideas spelled out for them and they did not see through Zhirinovskiy's ideology themselves.

[Bragin] It is humiliating when viewers are treated like idiots. The film was not commissioned by the LDPR. I am sure that Zhirinovskiy would have paid a lot to make sure that the viewers never saw "The Falcon." Nonetheless, we showed it, moreover on the eve of election day, to sober those who had been duped by Zhirinovskiy's promise of a early and bright future, acting on the Stalin and Hitler patterns. Mr. Zhirinovskiy sued Ostankino in the arbitration news media court.

Judging by the number of phone calls to Ostankino, the viewers' reaction to the film was exactly as you have described. But no one has made a serious study of "The Falcon's" impact. And it could just be that having seen the film and understood where Mr. Zhirinovskiy's ideals would lead the country, many voted against him. Who can disprove this with facts?

First we showed a feature film called "Stalin's Testament." It revealed the roots of fascism as it emerged in this country, and also which political forces were standing at its cradle. "The Falcon" is a film about Zhirinovskiy, a logical continuation of "Stalin's Testament." We wanted the voters to understand the sources of such a political phenomenon as Zhirinovskiy, and we did warn them.

[Lukyanova] Who originated the idea of the first political show in this country—"The Constitution of Russia—Seeing In a New Political Year"? It would have been okay if the election results were not so sad: The country gave up five years of its life and 40 million lives to fight fascism, and who did the majority of the population choose more than half a century after the war? Surely there was concern over the victory by the democratic forces in the elections, and there was no absolute certainty about it. Was it not risky to organize such a festivity?

[Bragin] The idea originated in Ostankino and, as you understand, was supported in the government; otherwise the Kremlin Palace would not have been made available free of charge. The idea itself should not be denigrated. In spite of the numerous deplorable flops in organizing the event, I still think that the night show became an event in Russian journalism. For the first time we promptly told the voters about elections in Russia—that the majority voted for the constitution and therefore the people supported their president. And with its adoption came stable and strong presidential rule, and there was no panic over the advent to parliament of some extravagant party. This action was organized exclusively in order to inform the electorate promptly about the results of the first free and multiparty elections in Russia since 1917.

It is not the guilt of the program's organizers that its scenario changed as the ballot results came in.

[Lukyanova] Your viewers and our readers would like to know have who footed the bill for this revelry in the palace. And also, excuse me, what there was on the tables.

[Bragin] There were soft drinks and dry wine on the tables; there were also free sandwiches and there was a refreshment room for those willing to pay. The funds for the supper were allocated from the budget. And how could we possibly not have fed the journalists, who had been worked for nearly 24 hours on end? Such buffet parties are common in the rest of the world and hardly deserve such attention.

[Lukyanova] Vyacheslav Ivanovich, excuse me, but for what did Mr. Zhirinovskiy thank you, shaking your hand? This handshake has already given rise to much speculation.

[Bragin] I hope that my assessment of Zhirinovskiy's political views is clear enough. I do not know who regards a handshake as a symbol—and what sort of symbol—but to me it was a routine manifestation of courtesy. Mr. Zhirinovskiy thanked me for the fact that Ostankino gave him, among others, the possibility to come on the air. I explained that his gratitude was misdirected because we were only fulfilling a CEC decision and gave all the candidates equal free time slots.

P.S. [Lukyanova] "When this material already went to press, it became known that the president had signed an edict on your dismissal following a statement by the Ostankino Board of Directors. What would be your comment?" we asked V. Bragin.

[Bragin] I am perfectly calm about this. First of all, there was no session of the Board prior to this edict and it did not adopt any statement concerning the Ostankino TV and Radio Company. I intended to call the board in for a session to discuss the situation, but I had to advise them about the edict and say good-bye. This is not the first attempt to bar me and my colleges from managing the company by those directors who are mortally afraid of economic and structural transformation of the company and will stop at nothing for the sake of their selfish interests.

All the talk about the past elections is merely a cover. The conflict stems from the fear by a small group of people in the company—although enjoying certain support and patronage of influential financial structures and lobby groups around and within the government—of losing the sources of their personal enrichment. Centralization of the company's economy and in particular of its advertising service which I was planning to undertake is seen by them as an encroachment on power and influence in the company.

I have nothing to be ashamed of. But I would like to point out that behind the appeal to the president by certain company directors is a process that is extremely dangerous for Russia's future. Its essence consists in seeking to wrest Ostankino from the president's control and then, using the TV screen, depose Yeltsin himself and his team. I am not sure that the president fully realizes this.

[Article is accompanied by following table]

Air Time Bought by Parties and Blocs (in addition to this, the candidates were buying air time on commercial channels but no information is available as to which ones and how much)

Name of party or bloc	Minutes	
	Ostankino	Russian TV
Russia's Choice	88	150
PRUA [Party of Russian Unity and Accord] (S. Shakhray's party)	88	77
Civic Union	88	30

Name of party or bloc	Minutes	
	Ostankino	Russian TV
LDPR (Zhirinovskiy's party)	84	90
The Russian Democratic Reforms Movement	50	50
The Democratic Party of Russia	30	30
Price of one minute in rubles	707,000	632,095

Bragin's Dismissal Seen as Overdue

PM1612174593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Grigoriy Simanovich report: "'Ostankino' Boss Dismissed. It Has Come to This. Not Before Time?"]

[Text] And so President B. Yeltsin has signed the edict relieving Vyacheslav Bragin of his duties as chairman of the "Ostankino" television and radio company.

Yesterday, just prior to the publication of this edict, an atmosphere of alarm and expectation that changes were in the air prevailed at "Ostankino." Rumors and predictions were "flying" around the corridors and editorial rooms while a closed session of the television leadership lasting several hours was held. Needless to say, we were unable to attend this session, but the kind of "testimonial" given to Vyacheslav Bragin by his colleagues and coworkers was evident from the appeal to the president which they adopted.

From the outset it was clear that Bragin had been placed in this position as a matter of political convenience. And at first he was more than conscientious in "earning" this trust. Everything which Bragin thought did not suit the interests of the highest political leadership and "Russia's Choice" was rejected, abandoned, and repressed. The events of October demonstrated Bragin's inability to run the state television channel effectively in a situation of political emergency. There were moans from program managers, whose work was in total confusion ["raskardash"], protests from the television companies protested, and indignation from viewers, but the television chief remained proud and unruffled.

The apotheosis of his activity was the television election campaign, which basically took place without journalists and offered a number of political leaders the chance to shamelessly swindle people without having to face any opposition. And regarding "Political New Year," that shameful television show broadcast the night of 12-13 December, it seems that everyone possessed of a sense of reality, common sense, and shame has written and said something.

"Ostankino" awaits a new appointment. Who will it be? Right now only one name is being bandied around: Valentin Lazutkin. He is first deputy chairman, an experienced television man, and a professional. But as is often the case, another contender could surface unexpectedly. Or contenders. Let us wait and see. I only hope that we will not have to wait as long as we had to for the end of the Mr. Bragin's "brilliant" television career.

Shakhray To Offer Job to Kotenkov

LD1612220493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2023 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray said he would give a job to Aleksandr Kotenkov, dismissed by President Boris Yeltsin on Thursday [16 December] as head of the State Law Administration.

Shakhray, who heads the State Committee on the Affairs of the Federation and Nationalities, told INTERFAX on Thursday that he would appoint Kotenkov deputy head of the committee.

Kotenkov said earlier that he thought the reason for his dismissal was the fact that he had headed a team running the parliamentary election campaign for the Party of Russian Unity and Concord, led by Shakhray. He also said he had been fired without notice and learned about his dismissal from journalists.

Kotenkov, one of the leaders of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord, did not stand for parliament in Sunday's elections.

TV Company Pulling 'Red Square,' 'Politburo' Programs

MK1712134093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 2

["NG" report under the "Television" rubric: "'Ostankino' Guilt Is Indisputable. 'Politburo' Quits Airwaves"]

[Text] "The county's leadership has received its last warning: It is impossible to trust those who are incapable of being responsible for their own actions. It is impossible to trust those who fight allies seeing in them rivals, who call people to face bullets, who in a critical moment for the country turns off the television. Today these people should be made responsible for the election results," says a statement of the "ViD" [Vzglyad i Drugiye—Vzglyad and Others] television company.

For a rather long time the leadership of the "Ostankino" television company followed a policy of combating independent views inside the company. As a result, in the period of the electoral campaign "Ostankino" was farmed out to the electoral blocs, and no news anchor could counter empty promises with common sense. The result is here for everyone to see.

The company chiefs cracked down, taking rigid censorship actions, on a group of the more authoritative news program anchors and creative collectives led by the former Television News Agency chief editor Oleg Dobrodeyev.

In their next move the company chiefs kicked out from Channel One Aleksandr Lyubimov and Aleksandr Politkovskiy, television anchormen greatly trusted by viewers. There was undisguised pressure on ATV [Avtorskoye Televideniye] and the well-known television anchorwoman Kira Proshutinskaya. "Novosti" was subjected to the most rigid censorship.(...)

"Nevertheless, the first democratic elections are at an end, and their results are undisputable. It can only be stated that the television company leaders carelessly regarded the role of television in the propaganda of one or another electoral bloc." (...)

"Besides, air time was available in unconscionable amounts for payment. The company was busy making money, forgetting that it was supposed to uphold state interests.

"The political initiative of the company's chiefs in recent days appeared as rather lacking professionalism. The desire to influence the outcome of elections at the last moment by methods of direct propaganda demonstrated a total lack of knowledge of the audience and the laws of television impact.

"The most glowing example of lack of political and television professionalism was the extravaganza from the Kremlin."

"In protest against a fatal incompetence and unconcern on the part of "Ostankino" television company chiefs, "ViD" discontinues as of next week the production of the "Red Square" and "Politburo" programs. We declare that we are ready in the face of looming danger to unite with all constructive forces; we cannot cooperate with political officials indifferent to their nation," the "ViD" television company statement says.

Yesterday, the "Ostankino" council of directors passed a letter to the president of Russia asking him to appoint in Bragin's place a professional "resistant to the influence of political situation."

Press Continues To Protest Evacuation Order

LD1612194793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1144 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Up to 35 editions housed in the building of the Russian press have no intention of obeying President Yeltsin's decision of December 2, under which the building is to be handed over to the upper house of Russia's future parliament. On Wednesday [15 December] the chairman of the Editions' Defense Committee, Oleg Nikonov, told an INTERFAX reporter that for the second week running the building at 26, Pushkinskaya St. had been living under a state of siege.

According to Nikonov, those inside the building demand that the building remain a social and political unit of the independent press. Nikonov explains the President's decision by the influence exerted on Boris Yeltsin by his closest aides. He said Wednesday that acting wholly on his own, Boris Yeltsin would not have stricken [as received] against what may be regarded as one of the few media units born in the process of democratic reform.

Oleg Nikonov is confident that on second thought the President will revoke his decision. So far, however, a senior executive of the National Property Committee has visited the building to declare riot police will be committed to action unless those inside the building leave the premises.

A columnist on the staff of the newspaper SELSKAYA NOV Yuriy Shakutin has for nine days been holding a hunger strike. The man is living in a tent in the building's lobby. According to posters pasted on the building's walls, the building will keep resisting until the last drop of ink because the press is not to be footballed and because he who gives can betray.

The building of the Russian press opened on President Yeltsin's decision of January 29, 1992.

Commission Preparing State Duma Procedural Rules

LD1612182893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1218 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—The procedural rules of the State Duma will be adopted by the State Duma itself, but the draft rules are being prepared by the commission of legislative proposals on the instruction of the Russian president. It is being discussed today at a regular meeting of the commission with the participation of scientists, representatives of the presidential and government structures, as well as of electoral parties and blocs which competed for seats in the new parliament.

The conceptual framework, used as a basis by members of the commission, envisages the State Duma as an independent chamber holding sessions on its own and adopting federal laws. "The work of the chamber will be based on the principle of political versatility and a multi-party composition, as well as on a free collective discussion of issues," chairman of the commission Mikhail Mityukov said. In this connection the draft document provides for a perceptible growth of the role of party groups in the work of the chamber. "If the State Duma made up of 450 deputies is not divided into groups, its work will turn into a rally impossible to control," Mityukov told ITAR-TASS.

Much attention will be given to the formation of permanent committees within the State Duma. They will do the main part of the law-making work in order "not to turn parliamentary sessions into an endless discussion of numerous amendments, the way it happened at the Supreme Soviet," Mityukov said. According to preliminary estimates, there may be no more than 12 committees, each including no less than 25 people.

The draft procedural rules include some provisions intended to turn the State Duma into an assembly managed by deputies themselves. The duties of the chairman, deputy chairmen and the conference of the State Duma should be clearly divided.

More on Duma's Standing Orders

MK1712105093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 2

[Petr Zhuravlev report under the "Lawmakers" rubric: "Parties Will Be Able To Recall Deputies From Parliament. Commission for Legislative Proposals Campaigns for Discipline"]

[Text] Against the backdrop of a flurry of activity in Russia's political life after the elections, the Russian Federation president's Commission for Legislative Proposals seems to be going on unruffled with its work to help the Federal Assembly save time and effort in examining top-priority draft laws. Yesterday's sitting of the commission once again discussed a rough draft of standing orders for the State Duma, drawn up nearly one month ago. The specific subjects of the discussion were in particular the place and role of deputy factions in the process of decisionmaking and in the internal life of parliament's lower chamber. According to the drafters' idea, the factions will have rather impressive rights—they are granted precedence in nominating candidates for executive positions in the Duma, in shaping the sessions' agendas, in introducing amendments to the texts of draft laws, and in speaking during debates. Like committee chairmen, faction representatives will be members of the Chamber Conference—a new organ whose job is to take care of current work and organizational questions. Along with such wide-ranging rights, however, the draft standing orders envision very stringent requirements for internal organization and activities of the factions. A deputy, the text says, shall be a member of the faction representing this or that bloc on whose list or on whose behalf he has been elected. The deputy shall also be committed to the faction's political program and its decisions. In other words, the drafters propose, with the aid of standing orders (which is essentially a law for "internal parliamentary consumption"), to raise to the maximum the level of party discipline, the infringement of which a party may be able to recall this or that deputy from parliament and replace him with the next one on the list.

Commission chairman Mikhail Mityukov explained that it is not necessarily that the Duma should only include factions of the blocs that have cleared the 5-percent hurdle. There are no obstructions for candidates of parties left "beyond the pale" and elected in one-candidate districts to form factions, provided they have found a sufficient number of like-minded members in parliament—the draft so far says it should be at least 12. Besides, a faction of independent candidates will most surely be formed, Mr. Mityukov believes.

Several critical remarks were voiced at the commission's sitting by Viktor Sheynis, to whom a SEGODNYA report wrongly ascribed an effort to scuttle parliament's control functions. According to Mr. Sheynis, the standing rules should provide, in addition to the rights of factions, for the rights of deputies outside factions. He also thinks that the standing rules should not put a rigid limit on the number of committees that the Duma may create, and their composition should not be confirmed at the chamber's sessions. On the contrary, it should be stipulated, Viktor Sheynis said, that all deputies—save, perhaps, deputies who are ministers—shall be members of some committees, that there should be no "free" parliamentarians.

Council of Ministers Presidium Holds Meeting

Approves Draft Privatization Program

LD1712133293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1251 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—The presidium of the Russian Council of Ministers, meeting here today, has in principle approved the draft of the official programme for privatising state and municipal enterprises in Russia. The document will be finalised by members of the presidium within one week and submitted for presidential endorsement at the end of the week.

Submitting the programme to the presidium, Vice-Premier and head of the State Property Committee Anatoliy Chubays noted above all that he regarded "as impermissible any changes in the conceptual basis of the document, because the process of privatisation was now in its final stage". He said that 65.5 per cent of all the small- size enterprises had been privatised by December 1, and 10.5 out of the 14.5 thousand large-scale enterprises, subject to privatisation, have already been registered as joint-stock societies. The Treasury has so far earned 680 billion roubles from privatisation. As many as 115 million privatisation vouchers were used by the country's population. Some 55 million citizens of the Russian Federation have become shareholders either of check investment funds or joint-stock societies.

Dwelling on distinctions between the current programme and the privatisation programme of "the 1992 type", Chubays said that it gives much broader rights to regions in the sphere of denationalisation, takes more thorough account of the sectoral specifics of privatisation. The document "regards privatisation not as a goal, but as a means of implementing reforms in Russia, of revitalising production as a whole".

Postpones Taxation Decree

LD1712153093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1512 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—A meeting of the Russian Government Presidium postponed today its resolution on the draft presidential decree on some changes in taxation of juridical persons.

The document is expected to upgrade the taxation system and bring it in correspondence to the government program for reform development and economic stabilization in 1993-1995.

Some meeting participants noted the draft decree expands rights of Federation subjects and increases a possibility of enterprise investments. Others think the decree "will increase pressure on enterprise revenues".

The draft decree annuls the current taxation procedure for banks and insurance companies and gives them the right to general taxation. The rate of revenue tax for enterprises, organizations and establishments, including foreign juridical persons, in part deducted to the Russian republican budget is fixed at 13 per cent. In 1994 it is planned to raise the tax-exempt amount of enterprise spending on payment of wages and salaries to six-time size of minimum monthly wages and salaries.

It is also planned to exempt from tax capital production and non-production investments, as well as money spent on R and D and transferred to the fund for support of businesses and development of competition.

The draft decree carries a list of goods and services exempt from tax on added value. It provides for the introduction of excises on covers and tableware made of non-precious metals and covered with silver and gold, as well as on hunter's guns, cutters and yachts and trailers.

Yeltsin Edict Introduces Immigration Controls

LD1712091993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0911 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—President Yeltsin signed a decree on Thursday [16 December], which introduced immigration control on the state border of Russia. It will be put into effect by the federal immigration service of the Russian Federation.

The immigration service will exercise control over the entry to the territory of Russia of foreign citizens and people without citizenship seeking asylum or going in transit, their identification and registration.

The immigration control service will be charged with implementing measures, aimed at preventing uncontrollable inflations and organising the deportation of foreigners in the cases and in accordance with the procedure, stipulated by legislative acts. Aside from it, it will examine applications on granting asylum, submitted by foreign citizens or people without citizenship who came to Russia.

Military Issues

Defense Aide Assesses New Military Doctrine

PM1712114393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1-2

["Topical interview" with Lieutenant General G.D. Ivanov, head of the Defense Ministry Directorate for Military Organizational Development and Reform, by Vladimir Klimov; place and date not given: "A Doctrine Without the Word 'Victory'"]

[Text] As you know, in November the "Basic Provisions of the Russian Federation Military Doctrine" were enacted by presidential edict. It is hard to overestimate this document's significance for our country. Our observer asked Lieutenant General Gennadiy Dmitriy Ivanov, head of the Russian Defense Ministry's Directorate for Military Organizational Development and Reform, to explain certain burning issues of military doctrine.

Renunciation of Imperial Policy

[Klimov] Our readers would be interested to find out what the main factors were that were taken into consideration when the military doctrine was formulated. What is new in it?

[Ivanov] The Russian Federation's military doctrine was shaped by a whole series of factors. Among them were the change in the system and nature of interethnic relations and the geopolitical situation in the world; the preservation of a fairly high level of tension in certain regions; leading countries' review of their military policy; special features in the development of the internal situation in Russia, primarily its real economic potential.

A number of the provisions of the military doctrine are fundamentally new.

First, the fact that Russia does not today regard any state as its enemy.

Second, the role and place of nuclear arms have been defined anew, being regarded above all not as a means of waging military operations but as a means of deterrence against the unleashing of aggression.

Third, the fact that the Russian Federation Armed Forces have found themselves with a number of new tasks. These include taking part in peacekeeping operations by decision of the UN Security Council; and helping internal affairs organs and Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops localize and blockade a region of conflict, suppress armed clashes, separate the opposing sides, and defend strategically important installations.

Fourth, the provision that in the interests of the CIS member states' security Russian troops can be stationed outside its territory as part of both joint and solely

Russian groupings and individual bases (installations). The conditions for this are defined by international legal documents and are fully in line with the universally recognized norms of international law.

The military doctrine also contains other fundamental stances espoused by the Russian Federation in the political, military, and military-technical spheres.

[Klimov] You have already said that Russia does not regard any state as its enemy. However, when describing sources of military danger, the doctrine refers to attempts by certain countries, organizations, and groups to implement their military and political aspirations. Are these countries not at least potential adversaries for Russia?

[Ivanov] You can only say that when these aspirations take the form of specific actions to prepare and unleash aggression against the Russian Federation. In all other cases we are entitled to speak of potential sources of external military danger to Russia and factors whereby they may become a military threat. However, the creation of a threat to Russian interests in a particular part of the world does not mean that a particular country is automatically ranked among Russia's enemies.

[Klimov] Why has the point regarding our not being the first to use nuclear weapons been removed?

[Ivanov] The basic provisions of the Russian Federation's military doctrine do not indeed confirm the Soviet Union's previously avowed commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Other countries never took seriously this commitment on the part of the USSR. It was seen as a propaganda statement and undermined confidence in our military policy although, to be frank, quite needlessly. The Soviet Union never had any plans to inflict preemptive strikes. Now nuclear weapons are regarded not as a means of waging war but as a means of deterrence against the unleashing of aggression. At the same time I must point out that renouncing our nonfirst-use commitment does not mean a move to the concept of a preemptive nuclear strike but demonstrates our determination to prevent the unleashing of war against the Russian Federation and its allies, while having in our arsenal the minimum necessary number of strategic nuclear weapons.

Internal Aspect

[Klimov] The doctrine mentions the possibility of the use of the Armed Forces on Russian Federation territory to suppress an armed conflict. Could you explain this idea?

[Ivanov] Russia's military doctrine does indeed envisage that possibility. But we do not have legal priority in this sphere. In various democratic countries, the United States, Germany, Britain, and France for instance, fundamental state documents enshrine the possibility of the use of the armed forces to ensure internal security. The only difference resides in the formulations used to take account of the specific conditions in these states.

In this connection I would like to stress that the Russian Army is only assigned an auxiliary role in suppressing internal armed conflicts inasmuch as the emphasis is placed on Russian Federation internal troops and security forces.

[Klimov] The statement that the suppression of the rights, freedoms, and legitimate interests of Russian citizens abroad represents a source of military danger is a very serious one. As you know, there are plenty of examples of this. What might be the result of this statement in terms of practical actions on our part?

[Ivanov] In my view, although this problem is also connected with ensuring Russia's security, it can be resolved politically or diplomatically. However, in certain cases the military's actions may back up the efforts made by politicians and diplomats. Just as happened last year, for instance, when Russian Embassy personnel were evacuated from Kabul. However, there is not and can be no question of any military threat from Russia to anyone whatsoever.

[Klimov] The doctrine talks about preventing harm to Russia's military security as a result of the nonfulfillment of previously agreed international accords. This directly applies to Ukraine. What practical conclusions can we draw from this?

[Ivanov] I do not think that at this point the question of practical conclusions with regard to Ukraine should be raised in such a peremptory form. The Ukrainian Supreme Council did indeed accompany its ratification of the START I Treaty with a number of provisos effectively nullifying Ukraine's pledges thereunder. But you must also bear in mind the fact that the adopted decision does not fully reflect the positions espoused by the Ukrainian president and Government. This allows us to hope that the Supreme Council decision is not the Ukrainians' last word. This may be borne out by President Kravchuk's intention to resubmit the START I Treaty for examination by the republic's new Supreme Council to be elected 27 March 1994.

I Have the Honor!

[Klimov] The doctrine includes the main guidelines for sociopolitical support of the Russian Federation's military security. What does this involve and what is meant by the series of measures to enhance the prestige of service?

[Ivanov] Unless we create the optimum social conditions for military service we cannot expect to be successful in implementing military doctrine. These include living conditions, recreation, public health, and the need to safeguard servicemen's political rights and freedoms. If these aspects are not studied we will effectively be overlooking the main element in military organizational

development—the individual. And without him the hardware and weapons are useless.

As for enhancing the prestige of military service, we mean the system of measures (socio-legal, economic, propaganda, etc.) that help create the optimum conditions for military service.

The purpose of enhancing prestige is to confer on military service the status of "a citizen's high honorable duty."

What does this include? It is a question of nurturing in society an atmosphere of respect for the Armed Forces and readiness to defend the Fatherland, implementing all provisions of the Russian Federation Law "On the Status of Servicemen," working on a number of new legislative acts in top organs of state power, taking urgent steps to resolve acute social problems, and putting into effect a system of military ceremonies and rituals.

[Klimov] The doctrine makes no reference to the word "victory." What about the Aleksandr Nevskiy precept [reference to 13th century Russian prince renowned for comprehensive victories over invaders]?

[Ivanov] In the event of aggression against Russia our Armed Forces are assigned the task of "defeating the enemy, creating conditions to end military operations at the earliest possible stage, and concluding peace on terms that accord with the interests of the Russian Federation." That conforms with an Aleksandr Nevskiy-style victory.

[Klimov] What is behind the provision on assisting the border troops? Is it not better to reinforce these troops and not interfere in their strictly specific activity?

[Ivanov] The Russian Federation Armed Forces may be assigned tasks of assisting the border troops in protecting the State Border.

Today, regrettably, this is not a "specific activity" but the suppression of illegal armed force on the State Border. And the use of the Armed Forces is a correct step. Tajikistan is an example of that.

Regrettably, it is sometimes very hard to clearly designate the boundaries of an armed conflict and prevent its development into full-scale operations. That is why they need help.

Not by Numbers But by Skill

[Klimov] What can you tell us, Gennadiy Dmitriyevich, about the new principles for the organizational development of the armed forces, the mobile defense concept in particular?

[Ivanov] In creating our own Armed Forces we were forced to change the operational-level disposition of forces and restore combat command and control of the troops and forces. We have abandoned the disposed-in-depth strategic defense disposition. The predicted development of the military-strategic situation and the planned substantial cut in the numerical strength of the Armed Forces necessitated the switch to a mobile defense.

We are also in favor of creating mobile forces capable by virtue of their specific nature of rapid maneuver and of conducting combat operations both as a part of troop groupings and autonomously.

[Klimov] As I understand it, the Defense Ministry is finding it hard to resolve the main tasks of military-technical support given the current economic and financial difficulties?

[Ivanov] You're right. The country's potential in terms of military-technical support for its security is extremely limited. Nevertheless the military doctrine provides an exhaustive response to this complex question. To sum it up in a couple of words, it is a question of creating an optimum system of armaments that boosts combat readiness in terms of qualitative indicators and equips the Armed Forces with state-of-the-art weapons. And this in turn is only possible if the financial and material resources allocated for defense are concentrated on top-priority areas of military-technical support for the country's security. This work has been started today with the formation of a draft arms program for the period through the year 2000 and the state defense order for 1994.

Priority in resource allocation is given to developing high-technology production units. Powerful financial-industrial groups capable of autonomously developing and producing arms and military hardware are being set up on the basis of leading defense enterprises.

[Klimov] In the context of the new military doctrine, Gennadiy Dmitriyevich, how do you see military-technical cooperation with foreign countries?

[Ivanov] Whereas in the former Soviet Union military-technical cooperation was more ideological in nature and was designed to support suitable regimes, today Russia regards it primarily as an integral part of balanced backup for its economic interests.

We are in favor of continuing the trade in arms and military hardware with traditional partners and also of taking part in international exhibitions and salons with a view to selling weapons on new markets. Provision is made for carrying out bespoke and joint scientific research and experimental and design developments in arms and military hardware, primarily with the CIS countries. Our military and civilian specialists will still be assigned at foreign countries' request to provide support for the work of servicing and repairing Russian arms.

There are also plans to expand contacts in training foreign servicemen, from the CIS among others, at Russian training establishments, and our officers and generals abroad.

We will continue to provide technical assistance in building military installations and defense industry enterprises. [Ivanov ends]

What can be said in conclusion about our military doctrine? It is neither overly aggressive nor overly peace-loving.. It is well tailored to the current situation and it is businesslike and specific.

And another point. The new Russia's first military doctrine completely rejects nonsensical lofty words. It does not shout: "Hurrah! Victory will be ours!" But if you reread its terse provisions, which have no pretensions to high-flown style, you will see: Just as during the time of Aleksandr Nevskiy, Aleksandr Suvorov, and Georgiy Zhukov, it is hopeless and deadly dangerous not only to enter our home brandishing a sword but also to think about trying to raise a sword over great Russia.

Yeltsin Edict Endorses General Military Regulations

PM1712131793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Russian Federation President Edict No. 2140 "On Endorsing General Military Regulations of the Russian Federation Armed Forces"]

[Text] In connection with the fact that existing general military regulations of the Russian Federation Armed Forces were endorsed by the Russian Federation president's 18 September 1982 edict no. 1074 "on the endorsement of the provisional general military regulations of the Russian Federation Armed Forces" as provisional regulations and also in view of the need to bring them into line with the Russian Federation laws "on military service duty and military service" and "on the status of servicemen," which were adopted later, before the introduction of the relevant changes and additions to Paragraph 3 of Article 4 of the Russian Federation law "on defense," I decree:

1. That the regulations on the internal service of the Russian Federation Armed Forces, the disciplinary regulations on the Russian Federation Armed Forces, and the regulations on the Russian Federation Armed Forces garrison and guards services (footnote) (not cited) be approved and put into operation 1 July 1994.

2. That the Russian Federation Defense Ministry be instructed to approve and introduce into operation the drill regulations of the Russian Federation Armed Forces.

3. That the operation of the Russian Federation Armed Forces General Military Regulations be extended to the following:

The Russian Federation Border Troops, the Russian Federation Internal Affairs Ministry internal troops, the Russian Federation railroad troops, and the Russian Federation civil defense troops;

Servicemen in the system of federal state security organs, the Russian Federation main guards directorate, the Russian Federation president's security service, and the Russian Federation president's federal agency for government communications and information, and servicemen of other Russian Federation ministries and departments;

Servicemen of the Russian Federation Internal Affairs Ministry state firefighting service;

Military construction workers of the military construction detachments (units) of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry and other ministries and departments of the Russian Federation (apart from questions of the organization and performance of guard duty). The features of the organization and performance of garrison service by military construction workers must be determined by the Russian Federation Defense Ministry.

4. That the Russian Federation president's 16 September 1992 edict no. 1074 "on the endorsement of the provisional general military regulations of the Russian Federation Armed Forces" be deemed invalid as of 1 July 1994.

5. That this edict be submitted for the examination of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

6. That this edict enters into force at the moment it is signed.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin, Moscow, Kremlin 14 December 1993

State Arms Trade System Plan To Recover Market

MK1612162093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Russia Intends To Restore Its Position on the World Arms Market"]

[Text] Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin has stated that a session of the Government Commission on Military and Technical Cooperation with Foreign Countries [VTS] discussed the creation of a state company called Rosvooruzheniya [Russian weapons], whose charter documents are in preparation, as Russia intends to recover its place as one of the major exporters of advanced combat equipment by creating a state arms trade system using the resources of large state-controlled foreign trade firms specializing in this field. In implementing the contracts concluded, all VTS structures will retain their rights while Rosvooruzheniya will become a parent firm, a holding company with respect to the existing ones, the vice premier stressed. According to official sources, it is also being proposed to lift export duties on weapons, to create an export and import bank to credit military and technical cooperation projects and to streamline the system of licensing arms sales. Experts also tend to believe that weapons should be produced simultaneously

for Russia's internal needs and for export (the former concept gave priority to supplying the national army).

Navy Nuclear Inspector on Failure To Meet Standards

LD1612174093 Moscow Radio Moscow in Russian to Tajikistan 0435 GMT 16 Dec 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Ministry of Defense]

[Text] We have been told by the naval press service that three rods used in nuclear reactors on submarines were stolen 27 November from a strategic depot of the Northern Fleet outside Murmansk. These were spent nuclear fuel components which were being stored in special containers. An inquiry is under way. Unfortunately, neither the command nor naval experts have commented on this.

The navy has failed to deal with the issue of building new nuclear waste stores for decades, and the existng stores are already more than full. Nobody in the navy conceals this problem, but the navy is unable to deal with it successfully by itself.

This is what our correspondent Vladimir Makarovich was told by Rear Admiral (Nikolay Irasov), admiral inspector and head of the nuclear safety inspectorate for nuclear installations of Russia's Ministry of Defense:

[Begin recording] [(Irasov)] The main problem is the removal of spent nuclear fuel, because all the spent nuclear fuel stores are virtually crammed full. Stores for fresh nuclear fuel do not meet nuclear safety requirements and there is the problem of ships taken out of combat service, that is, the unloading of active areas.

[Makarovich] What are the implications of not resolving these matters, not only for the navy, but for the ecological situation in this region?

[(Irasov)] There are serious implications, radioecological ones, because ships which are left for a long time with radioactive areas not removed could sink. [end recording]

Regional Affairs

Chechen Military Ready To Storm Dudayev's Palace

LD1612135993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1343 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 16 December, (TASS)—Chechen Army commanders sent their troops to Groznyy on Thursday [16 December], which surrounded the palace of President Dzhokhar Dudayev. On Wednesday, the military issued an ultimatum to Dudayev urging him to resign as the prime minister.

Machine gun posts have been established on the roofs of adjacent buildings where snipers are also staying and downtown Groznyy is full of armour and armed people. Reports have said that the Army units are planning to attack the presidential palace.

In the meantime, Dudayev has called up an urgent government meeting which is currently going on in the palace which is protected by the presidential guard and police.

On Wednesday, the commanders of the main military units of Chechnya addressed the people on local TV. They issued an ultimatum to Dudayev demanding that he resigns as the prime minister, creates the Security Council and the Defence Ministry and announces parliamentary elections before the end of March.

Vice President Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev qualified the ultimatum of the military as a provocation playing into the hands of certain forces in Moscow which plan to eliminate the sovereignty of Chechnya.

General Says No Storming Planned

LD1612164593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1550 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Ausyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 16 December, TASS—"We are not going to storm the presidential palace. Moreover we will resolutely suppress any acts of provocation fraught with bloodshed," one of the leaders of the rebellious field commanders in Chechnya, Major-General Ibragim Suleymenov told ITAR-TASS half an hour ago in the square in front of Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev's palace.

Three out of five field commanders who announced their ultimatum to President Dzhokhar Dudayev on local television on Wednesday night are now closeted for negotiations with the president's envoys. Their armed units and several armored vehicles are blocking the building. According to unconfirmed reports, more armored vehicles from the Shali tank regiment located 40 kilometers from Groznyy are likely to join these.

According to Ibragim Suleymenov, he and his allies have enough strength and no intention to go back on their demands that a new prime minister and defense minister be named and parliamentary elections be held in the republic before the end of next March.

Suleymenov was a member of the Chechen parliament. After Dzhokhar Dudayev dissolved the parliament by force, Suleymenov was named defense minister of the government of popular trust headed by Yaragi Mamodayev. At present, however, he is acting on his own, paying no heed to calls from Yaragi Mamodayev who is resolutely against settling political disputes by force.

President Dzhokhar Dudayev's reaction to the latest developments is not immediately known. He is now

presiding over a meeting of the cabinet of ministers held behind closed doors. According to a reliable source, the meeting is proceeding in a quiet atmosphere and discussing items on the regular agenda.

Situation Said 'Greatly Exaggerated'

LD1612151493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1338 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 16 Dec—The situation has again deteriorated sharply in Chechnya. Since this morning the center of Groznyy has been full of armed people and equipment. The catalyst for this deterioration, which has been brewing for a long time, was a speech on local television yesterday by commanders of the main armed formations in the republic. They presented Dzhokhar Dudayev with an ultimatum, demanding that he resign the powers of prime minister, which he has taken upon himself, create a Security Council and Defense Ministry, and hold elections to the republic's parliament by the end of March.

Speaking in the wake of the field commanders, Chechnya's Vice President Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev called these actions provocative and said they played into the hands of certain forces in Russia striving to abolish Chechnya's sovereignty.

The field commanders brought their sub-units into the town this morning. They have effectively surrounded President Dudayev's palace. Machine-gunners and snipers are openly watching on the rooftops of neighboring buildings. The reports, however, which have already come in saying rebel commanders are allegedly prepared to storm the president's palace appear to be greatly exaggerated. An emergency sitting of the Cabinet of Ministers is now under way in Dzhokhar Dudayev's palace. The building itself is being protected by the presidential guard inside and police units outside.

Groznyy Under Control of Law Enforcement

LD1612180093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 16 Dec—Commanders of armed formations opposed to Dzhokhar Dudayev who continued their blockade of the presidential palace throughout the day have said that the deterioration of the situation in Chechnya today must not be used to the detriment of the republic's sovereignty.

A ceremony of reconciliation also took place here today between participants in the bloody events in Groznyy on 4-5 June of this year. As is known, at that time clashes took place between armed supporters of Dzhokhar Dudayev and of the Chechen parliament, which he had dissolved. Today, both these forces stand, in essence, on the same side of the barricade.

"What is happening in Chechnya now is the republic's internal affair and we will not let a third side interfere," Khamzat Khankarov, one of the rebel leaders, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent. According to him, Dzhokhar Dudayev has met with the field commanders, but so far the negotiations have failed to reach mutual understanding.

On behalf of his comrades, Khamzat Khankarov made an official statement that the armed groupings under their command will not allow the dispute to be resolved by force. "We will appeal to the people again," he said. "Let the citizens of the republic decide for themselves how to take Chechnya out of yet another crisis."

By 1900 the armored vehicles and main forces of the opposition groupings had withdrawn from the presidential palace to the places of their permanent deployment. The situation in central Groznyy is under the control of the republic's law enforcement forces.

Dudayev To Hold Meeting With Rebels

LD1612195293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1855 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Groznyy, 16 December, (ITAR-TASS)—The armed formations, which were deployed in the square in front of the presidential palace in Groznyy, have returned to their barracks. Movladi Udugov, the information minister of Chechnya, has said over the telephone that the situation in the city at present is quiet and the streets are being patrolled by the state motor-vehicle inspectorate and the personnel of the commandant's company.

The talks, which began today between the representatives of the republic's Armed Forces and Dzhokhar Dudayev, will continue in a few days' time. At present the president of Chechnya is in his office and is holding a meeting with members of the Council of Ministers.

Situation 'Returned to Normal' 17 Dec

LD1712114693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1136 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 17 December, TASS—The situation in the Chechen republic, which sharply deteriorated on Thursday as a result of actions by armed groups opposing Dzhokhar Dudayev, has returned to normal on Friday.

Troops brought to the streets of Groznyy, the Chechen capital, on Thursday dispersed later in the day and have not returned to the presidential palace today, despite expectations of many analysts. Law enforcement bodies control the situation in the city and the republic.

It was reported earlier that the commanders of the most influential armed groups in Chechnya do not demand Dudayev's resignation from the presidency. They

demand that the president leave the post of prime minister, establish a defence ministry and hold elections to a new Chechen parliament.

Yesterday's meeting between mutinous commanders and Dudayev failed to bring any accord. ITAR-TASS learnt today from a well-informed source at the presidential palace that Dudayev only agreed that the commanders have the right to try, with permissible means, to learn the opinion of Chechen people about their demands.

Clans Group To Hold Elections to State Parliament

LD1612224593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1757 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Chechnya's Council of Teipov (clans and families—INTERFAX) and Ethnic Groups intends to hold elections to the state parliament irrespective of President Dzhokhar Dudayev's attitude towards this issue. According to our Interfax correspondents, the provision on elections and on the election commission is supposed to be confirmed at the congress of the republic's teipov and ethnic groups late December in Groznyy. Delegates of the congress who are being actively nominated in the republic now intend to address the republic's president and leadership with a proposal to cooperate during the preparation to the parliamentary elections.

In his interview with INTERFAX chairman of the Council of Teipov and Ethnic Groups Ruslan Kutayev reported that in case President Dudayev refuses to render assistance in the preparation to the elections, the Council intends to address the congress with a request to hand over legislative authorities for the time of the election campaign. In Kutayev's words, "We fear that Dzhokhar Dudayev will try to disrupt the congress, however elections to the parliament will take place under any situation. Kutayev reported that almost all armed formations in the republic, among them command of the tank company, "Abkhazian" company formed from the volunteers who fought in Abkhazia, and a special purpose division, had guaranteed to ensure security during the congress.

At present the presidential decree to suspend activity of the parliament signed in summer 1993 after the armed clashes in Groznyy between the president's supporters and the opposition is in force in Chechnya now. At that time part of the parliamentarians supported the opposition criticizing the president for the ruin of economy and strengthening of authoritative power.

Tuva Will Not Use 'Right to Secession'

LD1612174393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1122 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Elmakov]

[Text] Novosibirsk, 16 December, TASS—Although the Russian Republic of Tuva, bordering on China, has retained the right for secession thanks to the adoption of its own Constitution on December 12, it does not plan to use it, according to the Tuva representative in the "Siberian Agreement" association uniting 19 republics and territories of the region.

The right to secede "is a theoretical notion which currently has neither political, nor economic grounds," Oorzhak Eres-Ool said at a press conference on Thursday organised by the association.

He added that, according to the Tuva Constitution, his republic remains within Russia as a sovereign state on the basis of the Federative Treaty.

The representative stressed that press reports about Tuva's plans to secede are "provocations of certain people and groups" which complicate economic relations with the Federal Government and affect the situation in multinational Tuva.

The "Siberian Agreement" succeded to get most of its members elected to the new parliament and now conditions its support to the president.

Director general of the association Vladimir Ivankov said the Russian president will be supported by the regional elite if the interests of the regions are taken into account while drafting the budget and the strategy of reforms.

He added, referring to the parliamentary elections, that the elite had "preserved its influence and demonstrated that it is important enough."

Ivankov hinted that his association is becoming a real political force as practically all of its candidates had been elected to the upper chamber of the Russian parliament.

International Affairs

Yeltsin's Remarks to Gore Called 'Inadmissible'

LD1612202693 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] (Anatoliy Kovalev), charge d'affaires ad interim of the Russian Federation in our state and adviser-envoy of the Russian Embassy, was invited to the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine today. This was in connection with the unfriendly remarks addressed to Ukraine by the president of Russia during his meeting with U.S. Vice President Gore.

It was stressed to the Russian diplomat that such statements by state and political leaders of Russia of whatever level are inadmissible inasmuch as they can have a tangible effect on the general atmosphere and the further development of Ukrainian-Russian relations.

Rukh Leader Comments

LD1612133893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1144 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Yeltsin was "pressurizing Ukraine," Popular Rukh leader Vyacheslav Chornovil said. That was his response to Yeltsin's allegations that Kiev was cheating the world about nuclear weapons on Ukrainian soil. Chornovil said that this statement, made at the Wednesday meeting in the Kremlin with U.S. Vice President Albert Gore, had been "an attempt to divert the attention of the world public from the crushing defeat of democracy" in Russia. The latest events in Russia showed that democracy there is immature and "poisoned with imperial mentality," Chornovil expresses.

The Rukh leader was surprised that Yeltsin had not disavowed a statement made by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev during his electoral campaign that amounted, in Chornovil's view, to territorial claims on Ukraine.

"If President Yeltsin does not dissociate himself from Zhirinovsky, Ukraine will have no choice but to stand by its position on nuclear weapons," the Rukh leader said.

Viktor Stelmakh, Ukrainian president's press secretary, said: "It is hard to comprehend how the Russian president who knows full well that Ukraine is working for a nonnuclear status and the position of the Ukrainian president on this issue could use such words in describing the policy of a friendly state."

"A concession to new political forces" was what leader of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party Yuriy Zbitnev, MP, had to say about the statement made by the Russian president. He feared that Russia's foreign policy will "get still tougher." In his words, "Yeltsin has begun responding to the new balance of power in his country" and looking for an understanding with the new parliament.

"An irresponsible statement with which Yeltsin misinforms the world" was the comment made by Stepan Khmara, leader of the conservative Ukrainian Republican Party. He thinks that Russia's policy has been imperial.

Crimean Communists Call For Economic Union With Russia

AU1612195893 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "A Statement by Crimean Communists"]

[Text] The presidium of the republican committee of the Crimean Communist Party expressed protest in connection with the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers decree on the normalization of prices and tariffs. The statement reads that the two years of the isolationist course followed by Ukraine's leadership have been marked by an unprecedented jump of prices of foodstuffs and manufactured goods. Besides, the size of the minimal wages makes chances of survival for millions of people questionable.

The only way out of such a situation, reads the document, lies in an economic integration with Russia and other republics and in a renunciation of attempts to achieve "market ideals" at all costs. The Ukrainian and Crimean leadership, which has compromised itself by driving the economy to a catastrophe, must resign.

Ability To Break Nuclear Codes Denied; Kozyrev Criticized

WS1712145193 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Colonel Valeriy Izmalkov, member of the legislative commission for defense and state security, described as absolutely ungrounded reports published by THE WASHINGTON POST that Ukraine will soon decipher the operational codes of nuclear missiles stationed on its territory. The newspaper cited U.S. and Russian analysts. Valeriy Izmalkov stated that the nuclear missile operational codes have a protection system that makes it practically impossible to decipher. He underlined that the missiles are launched based on space photographs and not geographical maps. So retargeting the missiles would require extremely complex calculations—something that only U.S. and Russian general staffs are capable of doing. Ukraine is not prepared for this. The deputy called the allegations about Ukraine deciphering nuclear codes a small link in a big chain of provocations against Ukraine. In this connection, Izmalkov also mentioned energetic actions by Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev in Brussels, who resorted to aggressive pressure against Ukraine and encouraged other states to do the same.

Ambassador to U.S. Speaks on START I Ratification

AU1512145493 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 14 Dec 93 p 3

[Report by the Press Service of the Ukrainian Embassy in the United States and UKRINFORM: "News Conference of the Ukrainian Ambassador in the United States"]

[Text] Ukraine's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in the United States Oleh Bilorus spoke at a news conference in Washington on issues of nuclear disarmament following the ratification of START I by the Ukrainian Parliament.

Even with the reservations made by Ukraine's Supreme Council, said Oleh Bilorus, the parliament's decree on the ratification of START I opened up new possibilities for the practical implementation of Ukraine's international obligations on the destruction of nuclear weapons on its territory.

At the same time, Oleh Bilorus stressed the special position occupied by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, who insists on a new discussion and ratification by a future new parliament of START I complete with the Lisbon Protocol on Nuclear Nonproliferation.

Japan Reportedly To Help Finance Nuclear Disarmament

LD1712122493 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0845 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—A UNIAN correspondent was informed at the Japanese Embassy in Ukraine that a working meeting of employees of the Foreign Ministries of Japan and Ukraine took place on 16 December about Japan's assistance in eliminating Ukrainian nuclear weapons. According to information of the embassy's secretary, Japan will finance nuclear disarmament of Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia irrespective of the assessments of the state's government or the manner of ratification of the START I Treaty by Ukraine. The total sum, which Japan is currently planning to spend on these four states comes to $100 million. But a final decision regarding Ukraine's share has not been adopted yet.

Kravchuk Comments on Ties With Iraq, Nuclear Arsenal

JN1712102593 Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 12 Dec 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Hadi Daniel in Tunisia]

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has stressed his country's concern over establishing good relations with Iraq. This came at a press conference at his place of residence in Tunis where he was the guest of Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. The Ukrainian president said at the press conference, which was attended by correspondents of AL-THAWRAH and other Arab and international press agencies in Tunis: We have been following the events in Iraq since the beginning and we seek to establish relations with Iraq. Our objective is to see Iraq become an effective member of the world community and to see it enjoying the same rights enjoyed by the rest of the members of the world community.

Answering a question by AL-THAWRAH correspondent, the Ukrainian president said: We are keen to establish good and full relations with Iraq on economic and other levels. He concluded by saying that Ukraine will not be the last country to restore its relations with Iraq.

On the fate of the nuclear arsenal in Ukraine, the president said that he informed Presidents Yeltsin and Clinton that the decision of Ukraine's Parliament and the Higher Council is to turn Ukraine into a nuclear-free zone provided the following: Ukraine receives guarantees that the Ukrainian national security will not be exposed to any encroachment or external danger; Ukraine receives financial compensation for destroying the nuclear warheads it is modernizing; and that Ukraine receives financial, scientific, and technical assistance to help remove its nuclear weapons. The Ukrainian president added that if the Parliament's conditions are met, the president will do what is necessary to remove the nuclear weapons.

President Leonid Kravchuk said: The international community must consider Ukraine as a strong economic player and a factor of stability in Europe. He ridiculed the allegations that Ukraine's nuclear weapons are a threat to the world, adding that the button that activates the Ukrainian nuclear weapons is in Moscow.

Report on Delegation's Talks in Latvia, Lithuania

AU1712093893 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 15 Dec 93 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Independence Is No Obstacle for Partnership Ties"]

[Text] **Between 8 and 10 December, for the first time since the proclamation of independence by former USSR republics, a Ukrainian parliamentary and governmental delegation visited Latvia and Lithuania. The delegation included Chairman of the Supreme Council Commission for Foreign Affairs D. Pavlychko, Chairman of the Supreme Council Commission for Issues of Economic Reform V. Pylypchuk, and Deputy Minister for Nationalities and Migration Issues V. Kravchenko. By the program of their visit, the Ukrainian guests proved that official Kiev regards Baltic countries as one of the priorities in its external policy.**

According to the Press Service of the Ukrainian Embassy in Latvia, the Ukrainian delegation met with Chairman of the Latvian Sejm Anatolijs Gorbunovs. The Ukrainian deputies took part in a special meeting of the Sejm Commission for Foreign Affairs and discussed problems

of the Ukrainian Diaspora in Latvia with members of the Sejm Commission for Human Rights and also with representatives of the Ukrainian community.

Particular attention in the course of the visit was given to questions of cooperation between our states and to the coordination of efforts in international organizations for the purpose of stabilizing the situation and strengthening security in Eastern European. The Latvian side showed considerable interest in the Ukrainian president's initiative with regard to the creation of a zone of stability and security in Central and Eastern Europe.

In Vilnius, the Ukrainian officials met with members of the Lithuanian Republic's Sejm committees for issues of the economy and foreign affairs. The members of the parliamentary and governmental delegation were received by Chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Sejm Ceslovas Jursenas. During the meeting, D. Pavlychko acquainted him with the idea of creating a Black Sea-Baltic alliance, which would unite countries of the former Warsaw Pact and would fill in the vacuum in the region.

Prospects of economic cooperation and of the restoration of traditional ties and establishment of new ties were also discussed. The Lithuanian side pointed out that it regards Ukraine as one of its principal economic partners.

Black Sea Economic Cooperation Viewed

WS1612073093 Kiev KYYIVSKA PRAVDA in Ukrainian 9 Dec 93 p 1, 3

[Article by T. Babych: "We Should Look For the Keys to Europe ...in the Black Sea"]

[Text] A very personal observation: a man who wants to communicate with other man, at first tones down his voice and begins to listen to his interlocutor's words more attentively. This generally known psychological principle prevailed during the second session of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly [BSECPA], which took place in Kiev from 29 November to 1 December. Always bursting with hot discussions, the Ukrainian Supreme Council session hall, where delegations of the BSECPA member countries were working, was unusually quiet this time. The system of simultaneous translation from different languages has eliminated the need for loudspeakers. Usual bursts of emotion and demonstrative "door slamming" were suppressed by arguments, consideration, and the desire to attain practical results. Otherwise, there is no sense in a joint work.

As is known, the idea of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation was initially voiced by late Turkish President Turgul Ozal at the end of 1990; as is also known, the idea was laid on well-prepared ground. As early as 1992, representatives of Azerbaijan, Albania, Bulgaria, Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Romania, Turkey, and Ukraine signed in Istanbul a joint declaration on cooperation that aims at economic prosperity, peace, and political stability in the region.

The process of bringing together nations and countries in the Black Sea region increased its pace after the first session of the BSECPA, which took place in Istanbul in June this year. Having commenced the consultations at the foreign minister level, the founders of this international organization quickly came to understand that the prerequisite for bringing them together is a conformity of state legislations, and, for this sake, began to cooperate on a parliamentary level. Within the last half a year, dozens of meetings, consultations, and special sessions were held. Thus, while opening the BSECPA session in Kiev, present Chairman Dzhyndoruk [name as published], head of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, stated with pleasure that necessary principles of activities, organizational structure, and the mechanism for the BSECPA functioning have been worked out, including the formation of three committees that are ready to begin their work—on economy, ecology, and transportation; policy and law; and culture and social development.

What resolutions are initially expected from the BSECPA members? It is easy to anticipate that each party has its own expectations; they are different in Turkey, which is stacked with goods, and in Georgia, which is paralyzed with civil war, in little Albania, which has only recently come out of many-year isolation, and mighty Russia (the delegation of which, by the way, as well as Bulgarian one, has not participated in the session). Even quite prosperous Greece, the EEC member, has its own interest in drawing near to the Black Sea Economic Cooperation.

According to the BSECPA chairman, these days, the region is undergoing a change in economic and political systems, entering a period of settling new relations between the person and the society, as well as between the society and the world, a period of self- assertion that sometimes runs to the extreme. However, in his opinion, the steadfast protection of human rights, freedom of choice, and other foundations of democracy are capable of transforming those differences into unity and force.

For Ukraine, which from the first days of independence dreams to hoist the sails of its policy under western winds, the BSECPA membership is, at last, a real chance to get rid of Russian "guardianship" and to inform the world about the quite independent Ukrainian economic and political course. Ukrainian President Kravchuk, while addressing the Parliamentary Assembly with greetings, named the Black Sea Economic Cooperation a "window" looking out on the new Europe and the whole world. With regards to specific spheres of cooperation with regional partners, according to his opinion, Ukraine expects the best results in sea transportation development, fuel and energy and agro-industrial complexes, health care, and pharmaceutical and food processing industry.

Thus, it is not accidental that Ukraine was one of the first countries to support the BSECPA idea, and worked hard to implement it. By the way, it was our country that invited the session to Kiev after it became known that Moscow is not able to provide this event with a "roof".

Ukrainian people's deputies are both in governing and working bodies of the BSECPA. For instance, Ukrainian people's deputy O. Charodeyev was charged with the deputy chairman post in this organization. His colleagues O. Bandurka, V. Masol, and V. Melnichuk were elected to the commission for questions of economy, ecology, and transportation.

A detached onlooker should be surely impressed by the businesslike and laconic style of the speeches at the plenary assembly meetings, which was characterized, according to Romanian representative K. Dumitrescu, chairman of the commission for questions of economy, ecology, and transportation, by the philosophy of consideration and, at the same time, pragmatism and efficiency.

What, in the first place, is needed for to accomplish the business cooperation among 11 such different countries in the sphere of new economic relations and enterprises? First, a databank on the economic situation as well as resource and investment capabilities. Second, a flexible customs system that would stimulate the easy transfer of goods and services through borders of the BSECPA member countries. Third, the creation of the Black Sea Bank for Development and Trade as a source of capitals for investments and implementation of joint projects.

The enthusiasm of the founders of a new economic community do make a big impression. The main standards and legal norms of joint activities have not been settled thus far, but the Ukrainian side, according to Supreme Council Chairman Plyushch, is already working out draft agreements on the creation of special zones of coastal trade and interregional cooperation. Business circles of the Republic have already assessed the situation; they propose to create a unified transportation system and put forth projects for providing the region with fuel and energy resources. One of the most complex problems of the Black Sea region, which is a prerequisite of economic prosperity, is ecology. Today, according to the data presented at the session, 45 percent of the coastline is suffering from progressive erosion; the life giving coat of water is dwindling and a dead hydrosulphuric zone is gradually coming up to the surface. During the last 20 years, the amount of toxic sewage dumped from Dnepr, Dnestr, and the Danube into the Black Sea increased several times. Due to this, the number of commercial fish species sharply decreased reducing the recreation potential of the Black Sea health resorts. It was a matter of consequence that the UN special program was followed by the Bucharest Convention last year and by the Odessa Declaration on the Black Sea this year. Hence, the participants of the Assembly expressed an urgent need for international cooperation in this vital sphere.

Today, the main obstacle impeding way to mutual understanding and cooperation of countries in the region is the incongruity of their legislations. Building their relations on the principles of equality, mutual esteem, and noninterference in each other's internal matters, these countries are also going to work out the rules of dealing with each other and with other countries of the world.

An additional difficulty in dialogue is caused by parallel membership of many of the BSECPA countries in other international organizations, in particular, in the EEC and the CIS, to which these countries also have obligations.. Nevertheless, none of the assembly participants fears the inability to fulfill these obligations.

With regard to the Ukrainian stance, our leadership, as it seems, has no alternative prospects. As it was openly stated by Supreme Council Chairman Plyushch during the news conference at the closing of the session, the CIS was necessary for our "divorce" case within the framework of the defunct USSR. The future of Ukraine, the strengthening of its economic and political sovereignty and national security was closely related by him to the Black Sea Economic Cooperation.

Thus, according to the sea custom, let us hope that our state ship sails on an even keel.

National Affairs

Kravchuk To Be Granted Legislative Powers

LD1612174593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1734 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhail Melnik for TASS]

[Text] Kiev December 16 TASS—The Ukrainian parliament intends to delegate legislative powers to President Leonid Kravchuk as head of the country's executive branch of government so that he could promptly address economic issues pending elections to a new legislature. Draft documents to this effect were submitted for the consideration of lawmakers.

The decision to delegate legislative powers to the president is quite explicable, and Kravchuk is most likely to receive them, since many deputies are now preparing to enter the election race and they just have no time left for lawmaking.

Kravchuk Gives Extra Powers to Local Governments

LD1612200793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1144 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Meeting with the mayors of major Ukrainian cities in Kiev on Wednesday morning, President Leonid Kravchuk approved the idea of giving more powers to local governments.

Briefing Interfax about the meeting, the Mayor of Kharkov, Yevgeniy Kushnarev quoted Kravchuk as saying that he had drafted a decree, according to which provincial authorities would be entitled to fix local taxes and tariffs, control currency deductions to local and regional budgets, set up municipal banks, and safeguard the right of proprietors to severe lease accords unilaterally.

President's Advisors Get Greater Independence

LD1712105493 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0845 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—On 16 December, the Ukrainian president's directive on changes in the regulations on the National Council of Social Partnership, formed in February this year, was made public. The National Council is a consultative and advisory body under the Ukrainian president, which helps coordinate the positions of three sides—the industrialists, the trade unions, and the government. The personal composition of the council used to be decided on by the Ukrainian president.

Now the procedure of determining candidacies is established by each of the sides independently. Interviewed by a UNIAN correspondent, Anatoliy Rybak, head of the secretariat of the National Council of Social Partnership, pointed out that "the Ukrainian president's directive enables us independently to settle organizational issues within the council and brings about wider plenary powers and the sides' greater independence".

Minister, Officials Inspect Nuclear Facilities

LD1612211293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2035 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Kiev December 16 TASS—The press release circulated here on Thursday [16 December] described as not conforming to reality the reports by some mass media about critical condition of nuclear facilities on Ukrainian territory. The press release was issued following an inspection tour of units and facilities of the strategic missile forces by Ukrainian Defence Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy accompanied by officials responsible for the maintenance of nuclear facilities. On a commission from the Ukrainian president, they visited depots for temporary storage of nuclear warheads removed from missiles to assess their condition.

"There actually are certain maintenance problems", said Vladimir Mityuk, commander of the 43th Army of the strategic missile forces, who took part in the trip. "And this is quite explicable. But there are no grounds to lay it on thick. The situation on nuclear facilities is fully under control, and we have all necessary means and resources for this. Any attempts at drawing an analogy to Chernobyl or anything of the kind is absolutely inadmissible", he stressed.

According to Valeriy Vasilyev, commander of Ukraine's strategic air forces, the nuclear ammunition is presently "preserved reliably". Although the air forces also face certain problems, the situation is still far from critical. Such assertions do not conform to reality, he noted.

The press release quotes Radetskyy as saying a package of documents has been prepared for discussion at the proposed meeting with the Russian defence minister. The main thing, he believes, is the mutual desire of the two sides "to find a constructive solution to all existing problems".

The press release assesses the present state of Ukrainian nuclear facilities as satisfactory. Additional measures are being taken "to maintain nuclear warheads in proper conditions and to provide strategic troops with all necessary things".

To Meet Russian Counterpart

LD1712095493 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2220 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 16 December—The press service of the Ministry of Defense has reported that that the Ukrainian minister of defense has made a trip to facilities of strategic missile forces in the last few days.

The minister of defense, commenting on the results of the trip, noted in particular: "On the instruction of the president of our state, together with military specialists and representatives from science, we visited all facilities where nuclear weapons are kept (repositories for temporary storage of nuclear warheads, detached from missiles, which have been taken off combat duty). Our main aim was to obtain objective information on the technical state and to assess the quality of servicing and storage of nuclear warheads. We paid particular attention to what additional measures it is necessary to take in the localities on such important issues as protection and defense of facilities, and protecting them from fire and explosions.

Naturally, we have sufficient problems. And they need to be resolved on the eve of talks on these issues with the Russian side. We have a meeting planned with the Russian minister of defense in the near future.

The state of missile facilities is satisfactory. We are taking additional measures to increase protection, to maintain normal conditions for the storage of nuclear warheads, and to provide the units and sub-units of the strategic forces with everything necessary.'

Recommendations on Nuclear Missiles Presented

AU1612162493 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Commentary by UNIAN correspondent Volodymyr Ivakhnenko: "A 'Missile War' Without Shooting"]

[Text] It is expected that, starting from January 1994, gas chambers in nuclear reactors of liquid-propellant strategic missiles known as SS-19 will gradually become unserviceable. After the Ukrainian Parliament ratified, with reservations, START-1, Russian specialists, in fact, refused to provide technical maintenance of SS-19 warheads, including the supply of hydrogen absorbers.

The Ukrainian leadership has been driven into a corner. The West and Russia continue putting pressure upon Ukraine, demanding that it become a nuclear-free state as soon as possible and unconditionally. Time works against Ukraine. As is known, after a certain period of storage, missile warheads become dangerously explosive and are not subject to dismantling. This is perfectly well understood in Russia. However, in the Kremlin, an openly temporizing position has been taken, until the condition of the SS-19's approaches critical. Then, Moscow will be able to count upon Ukrainian missiles without any compensation. Accordingly, Russia will be able to dictate its own terms: Either it accepts all missiles (together with solid-propellant SS-24) or none.

Kiev is definitely lacking the initiative. It could, for example, make a good-will gesture by offering Moscow some of the SS-19 warheads in exchange for fuel for nuclear reactors.

In this situation, there remains, perhaps, a last step that Kiev could take. Without waiting for assistance from Moscow, it may hand over to Washington (or to some other interested party, for example, China) the right to the dismantled liquid-propellant missiles, after receiving guarantees and monetary compensation. This will not be at variance with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, if we deal with members of the "nuclear club." (The treaty bans such actions only with regard to nonnuclear states). In such a case, Moscow would see that the problem may also be resolved without it. In turn, the Pentagon would get a unique chance to study Soviet missile technology. This step is inadmissible from the point of view of Russian security. However, to all appearances, only in this way the Kremlin politicians may become more compliant with regard to compensation and assistance.

Even though, theoretically, this is a perfectly possible development of events, there arise many practical questions in the "American" variant.

New Deputy Navy Commander Appointed

LD1612210893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1045 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Sevastopol— According to information from the press center of Ukraine's Navy, Rear Admiral Oleksiy Oleksiyovych Ryzhenko [as received] was appointed chief of staff and first deputy commander of Ukraine's Navy by means of an order by the minister of defense of Ukraine on 14 December. Oleksiy Ryzhenko was born in Kherson on 14 May 1944. He graduated from the Black Sea higher naval establishment in 1968 and from the military academy of the general staff in 1988. He was the chief of staff of the fifth operational squadron of the Black Sea Fleet from 1988 to 1991, and then first deputy chief of staff of the Pacific Fleet. From 1992 he was deputy commander of the fleet rear and chief of the Pacific Fleet rear.

Crimean Presidential Candidate Beaten

AU1612164093 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 15 Dec 93 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Attack on Crimean Presidential Candidate"]

[Text] Deputy of the Crimean Supreme Council, chairman of the Crimean Republican Party, and Crimean presidential candidate Yuriy Meshkov was severely beaten in Simferopol. On his way back from Sevastopol, where he met with the electorate, Yuriy Meshkov was attacked by three unknown persons. Brain concussion was the diagnosis made at hospital. In Meshkov's opinion, he became a victim of the pre-election struggle.

Interregional Bloc Leaders Outline Platform

LD1612173993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Leonid Kuchma, the president of the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, and Volodymyr Hrynyov, the chairman of the New Ukraine association, who are the founders of the Interregional Bloc of Reforms, held a news conference in Kiev today. They dealt mainly with the main provisions of the bloc's program document. The two leaders are convinced that no economic success is possible without reforming the political system in Ukraine. and in this respect, their hopes lie with the forthcoming parliamentary elections.

Leonid Kuchma and Volodymyr Hrynyov think that any attempts by the present government to stabilize the economic situation have no prospect of success, since the search for decisions, in their opinion, is leading into a cul-de-sac. It was pointed out that the Bloc of Reforms favors closer cooperation with Russia in Ukraine's external relations. As for Ukraine's internal structure, the reformists prefer a land and federal structure.

Given certain conditions at the forthcoming parliamentary elections the bloc is prepared to enter into an alliance with organizations of national democratic orientation.

Donbass Presses for Economic Independence

LD1612222493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1837 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk December 16 TASS—The people's deputies of the Donetsk regional council voiced on Thursday a protest against "the anti-popular policy pursued by the

Ukrainian Government". According to them, the state pressure upon the econo[illegible] exerted by the cabinet of ministers only tend[illegible]vate the crisis. The deputies believe that the d[illegible]an be resolved by granting certain economic [illegible]y to industrial regions and by reestablishing par[illegible] ties with other CIS countries, above all with Russia.

The question about regional economic independence is now taking a distinctive shape. A decree by the Ukrainian president provides for an economic and legal experiment under which four regions in southeastern Ukraine, the Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhie and Lugansk regions, will solve independently all their social and economic problems for two years. The experiment is to get under way on December 31, 1993. However, about ten more resolutions by the republic's government and parliament are still to be passed to make the experiment work, but lawmakers are not in a hurry to pass them.

Donetsk deputies applied to Ukrainian parliamentarians asking them to delegate the powers to pass these documents to president Leonid Kravchuk. They consider it the only condition for the experiment to get under way in the industrial regions which are to help pull entire Ukraine out of the crisis after improving their own affairs.

Parliament Begins Discussion of 1994 Program

LD1612225893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2134 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] On Thursday speaker of the Ukrainian parliament Ivan Plyushch proposed to start the December sitting with the discussion of the draft resolution on the program of the government's actions for 1994. In his words, "It's early to adopt the resolution today" because not all issues have been taken into consideration." "However, the work on the draft continues," he reassured.

The working variant of the package of documents called "On the Economic and Social Situation in Ukraine," distributed on Thursday, proposes to the president "to make his decrees and instructions correspond to Ukraine's legislature," to strengthen personal responsibility for decisions among the government's members and leadership of local administrations."

The deputies have also received three more bills proposed by the Chairman of the Parliament's Commission on Economic Reform Vladimir Pilipchuk. These documents suppose to suspend several authorities of the Supreme Soviet, handing them to the president, until convocation of a new parliament.

In particular, the issue concerns regulation of property relations, business related activity, social, scientific-technical, customs, fiscal, and tax policy.

It is supposed that the president will issue a decree which will have the force of law and "will be able to suspend the effect of other legislative acts." The bills provide for cancellation of the parliamentary right to veto presidential decrees in the case that they contradict Ukraine's laws.

As a result, the deputies have confirmed the agenda proposed by Plyushch.

Parliament Adopts Law on Civil Service

LD1612205793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1428 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev —The Ukrainian Supreme Council today adopted the law "On the Civil Service" after discussing it article-by-article in its second reading. The clause on the highest and supreme categories of the posts, which earlier comprised the president, the chairman of the Supreme Council, the prime minister, and other officials, was removed from the new version of the law.

In accordance with the law, a Chief Civil Service Directorate is to be set up, attached to the Cabinet of Ministers; seven categories of posts and 15 ranks of civil servants are to be established and their incomes declared. Acceptance for civil service employment in the posts of the third to the seventh categories will be on a competition basis. Civil servants are prohibited from engaging in entrepreneurial activity or taking part in strikes. Citizens who are accepted for civil service employment for the first time are to be sworn into their posts. Refusal to swear allegiance by those already in the civil service is a ground for ceasing their employment.

Civil servants and members of their families will enjoy privileges, such as, in particular, priority installation of home telephones for civil servants of the first to the fourth categories, allocation of plots of land and home building or home purchasing interest-free credit for a term of up to 20 years, free-of-charge medical care while in service and after retirement. Experts forecast that around 300,000 civil servants will enjoy these privileges.

Social Protection, Public Service Laws Approved

WS1712102093 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Council session is continuing its work. People's deputies approved a range of legislative acts at the plenary sittings held on 16 December. In particular, they approved laws on basic principles of social protection for labor veterans and other elderly citizens and on public service; they introduced changes and amendments to the laws on payments for land, economic associations, private initiative, the labor code, and other legal acts. The deputies passed the law on the status of people's deputies in its first reading. Vasyl Malarenko was elected deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Court. The Supreme Council also approved procedures for staffing and material supply of Interior Ministry detachments in charge of combatting organized crime, and adopted a resolution on granting and confiscation of farming land plots. At the evening

sitting, the deputies discussed a report on activities of the Ukrainian State Radio and Television Company delivered by its head, Mykola Okhmakevych.

The session will be continuing its work today.

Ministry Holds Briefing on Economic Crime

AU1512135093 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 47 (128), Dec 93 p 5

[Report by Iryna Yashchembska : "While Politicians Are Engaged in Discussions, Crooks Are Filling Their Pockets"]

[Text] At all times, political leaders uttered guiding phrases, which later became "set expressions." On the eve of the October coup, there sounded the aggressive and short-sighted statement: "The main thing is to get involved in a quarrel, and then..." [Lenin]; later a demagogic phrase: "economy must be economical"; then the demagogic incantation: "The process is under way" [Gorbachev]; on our Ukrainian soil, there spread the pessimistic "We have what we have...." [Kravchuk]

So what do we have now? In the third year of Ukrainian independence. We are not deputies, not ministers, not businessmen, not cooperators, and not profiteers, but simple people. It turns out that we are no better off now than before plus our smashed hopes. Or, no, I am mistaken. We do have something! Since 1 December, the minimal wages of 60,000 karbovantsi [K] and the minimal pension of K120,000; the worst and even negative dynamics of growth of the average wages relative to the dollar rate (as compared with other former USSR republics, in particular, Russia and Baltic countries); and maximum prices on the consumer market.... We have a Supreme Council, which is permanently but unsuccessfully debating how to protect us consumers from all economic calamities and difficulties. We also have a result of the activity of the supreme legislative organ: a package of laws that is one-tenth that required by the circumstances.

This was discussed at a briefing at Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs. How to protect our state's consumer market? What are the causes of the economic decline? Internal affairs experts were specific in their speeches and made a good use of figures and facts. Illegal actions on the part of various structures and persons were listed among the most deadly enemies of our well-being and independence: The taking out of the country of goods and raw materials, thefts (of everything and everywhere), and speculation.

Analyzing the crime situation in the economy, deputy minister of internal affairs General Oleksandr Ishchenko pointed out that, despite all obstacles, shortcomings in the current legislation, and other difficulties of today, the militia is trying to put an end to or at least reduce the squandering of our social wealth.

There are more than enough reasons for looting goods and taking them out of Ukraine. One of them is the prices of foodstuffs, consumer goods, and raw materials in Russia and Belarus. Ukrainian goods flow there like a river. Sugar, butter, cooking oil, grain, nonferrous and rare metals, and household commodities are taken across borders.... Such crimes are provoked by the artificially increased rate of the ruble with regard to the karbovanets. Even fried sunflower seeds are taken to Russia. That is to say, everything. (Why not if, as follows from the Ukrainian press, at Moscow markets, six cups of those same sunflower seeds cost one dollar, according to the rate). The Ukrainian state gets impoverished, while individual dealers become multimillionaires.

The situation is catastrophic and requires urgent rescuing measures. What is going on? For example, over one week in November alone, militia organs thwarted 1,005 attempts at illegal export from Ukraine of goods worth a total greater than K8.5 billion. Over this year, more than 16,000 such facts have been revealed and about K38 billion have been returned to the state.

Unfortunately, control over the export of goods is not always fulfilled properly by Customs services. Not infrequently, officers of this service themselves commit criminal acts by taking bribes for allowing goods to be taken across the border. This year, 30 Customs officers have been brought to account.

This year, in order to strengthen control over the removal of goods from Ukraine, the Ministry of Internal Affairs created special subdivisions of traffic militia. This has already produced positive results (in October 1993 alone, 728 crimes were solved, 13 units of firearms confiscated, 137 attempts to remove commodities and material values worth K457,700,000 thwarted, and so on).

In order to effectively resolve the problem of protecting the consumer market, Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs worked out a package of proposals and measures with which General Ishchenko familiarized the journalists. All of them, stressed the general, are extremely important.

The organizers of the briefing pointed out with concern the unacceptable fact of delay by the people's deputies of the adoption of laws on state service and state employees, struggle against corruption, and currency regulation (this last one we already have). Without these laws, militia organs are restricted in their actions.

Chief of the State Service for Combating Economic Crime at Ukraine's Ministry of Internal affairs General Viktor Hvozdetskyy also touched upon individual aspects of the problem of protecting the consumer market. He spoke, in particular, about speculation. Even though it has not decreased recently, still, stressed Viktor Demydovych [Hvozdetskyy], the law on speculation is in effect.

The quoted examples confirm that there is, indeed, a result.

It would suffice to say that criminals tried to misappropriate two, five, 17, and 28 million karbovantsi.... They failed.

However, journalists also wanted to know why those who remove from Ukraine tens or hundreds of kilograms or buy up foodstuffs for the purpose of speculation are caught up by the letter of the law, whereas those who export raw materials, metals, grain, and so on in amounts equal to tens and hundreds of tonnes and those who buy and resell products of enterprises in quantities sufficient to fill in railroad cars get away with it.

After everything that was heard, a question naturally arises: Who gains from the delay in the adoption of the necessary laws? Who profits from the total impoverishment of our state and, therefore, from our economic dependence upon our rich neighbor? There are many such "why's." Besides, as we can see, economic and legal problems develop into political ones. The helplessness of our law-enforcement organs is becoming understandable.

At the end of the briefing, General Oleksandr Ishchenko tried to somehow mitigate the sensation of bitterness that prevailed in the audience:

"Yes, we have a ruined economy and legal chaos, but we also have many conscientious specialists, who are loyal to Ukraine—therefore, we must emerge from the crisis and enjoy life worthy of our hard-working and talented people.

Deputy Prime Minister To Head Committee

LD1612231393 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1750 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 16 December—The Cabinet of Ministers and the National Bank of Ukraine have issued a joint resolution confirming the composition of the interdepartmental committee for issues of determining the priorities of utilization of [hard] currency. Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Valentyn Landyk has been appointed chairman of the committee. A sub-unit for preliminary elaboration of proposals regarding determining the priorities for utilization of [hard] currency is being set up within the staff of the economy ministry.

[Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian at 1900 GMT on 16 December carries a similar item, which adds the following: "The government of Ukraine has confirmed the composition of the currency and credit council [valyutno-kredytna rada] of the Cabinet of Ministers. Its head is vice-premier Valentyn Landyk. Hryhoriy Pyatachenko, minister of finance, has been appointed his deputy."]

Directorate Issues State of Economy Figures

LD1612203593 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1428 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—The calculations by experts of the Cabinet of Ministers' Economy Directorate show that Ukraine's national income fell by 13 percent and labor productivity by 10 percent in the period from January to November 1993 compared with the corresponding period of 1992. The inflation index in October in relation to January this year was 2,137 percent. Monetary emission in the period from January to November amounted to 8.518 trillion karbovantsi, which is 21.7 times more than in the corresponding period of last year. In November alone, an additional 1.288 trillion karbovantsi was brought into circulation.

Banks' cashier desks received 25.035 trillion karbovantsi in cash, including 21.112 trillion karbovantsi in receipts from trade. In general, the payments received rose by 25.2 times, including the receipts from trade by 24.8 times.

Banks' cashier desks paid out 33.552 trillion karbovantsi, with 16.726 trillion karbovantsi paid out as wages. Compared with the corresponding period of last year, cash payments rose by 25.7 times, including by 20.1 times as wages. Under the conditions of inflation, the Savings Bank's establishments are experiencing a shortage of incoming cash. In the past 11 months, the requirement for back-up was 1.198 trillion karbovantsi, which is 37.9 times more than in the period from January to November last year.

Official Comments on Economic Policy

AU1612123893 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 14 Dec 93 p 4

[Interview with Volodymyr Kuznetsov, deputy head of the Cabinet of Ministers Economic Department, by unidentified URYADOVYY KURYER correspondent: "How To Curb Inflation?"]

[Text] **No profound analysis is needed in order to see that Ukraine's socioeconomic sphere is in a state of extreme hyperinflation [superhiperinflyatsiya]. In other words, the rate of growth of retail prices and increase in the monetary mass in circulation constitutes more than 50 percent a month, and the state is actually losing control over the economy. All inflationary factors are already at work in our country. These are, in particular, the sharp decrease in the volume of production, the deficit of trade and payments balances, the deficit of Ukraine's state budget, the increase in prices of energy sources, which are purchased abroad, the credits and monetary emission, as well as the increase of wages, which is not backed by the increase in production or productivity of labor, and the economically unfounded increase of prices.**

Such an extremely critical situation forced the government, simultaneously with elaborating an anti-crisis program, to develop a separate program for urgent measures to overcome hyperinflation in Ukraine. In the very near future, this document will be discussed by the Cabinet of Ministers and then by Ukraine's Supreme Council.

What underlies the program? On what principles is it based? Deputy head of the Cabinet of Ministers economic

department Volodymyr Kuznetsov tells about this at the request of our correspondent.

[Kuznetsov] The program is based, first and foremost, upon a profound analysis of those factors, which have led to the present extremely complicated situation in Ukraine. These causes may be divided into the following two large groups: external and internal factors. We cannot fully influence the former, because they are mainly due to the disruption of economic ties, which formed in the single national economic complex of the former Soviet Union, and to Ukraine's essential dependence upon the supply of energy sources from Russia. The prices of energy sources grow the fastest. This causes a further loss of the trade and payments balance. Those agreements, which were concluded between Ukraine and Russia, both at a state level and at the level of economic subjects, are liable to a certain financial pressure on the part of Russia. That is why the government makes every effort in order to repay its debts for gas and oil. These are, so to speak, operational measures.

Regarding measures aimed at a greater strategic or tactical influence upon those internal processes, which enhance inflation in Ukraine, they are mainly associated with overcoming the deficit of the state budget. As predicted for 1993, this deficit had to amount to one trillion Ukrainian karbovantsi [K]. However, at present, it has already reached K13 trillion.

The entire budget deficit is at the state level. Regional budgets are generally formed with an excess of revenue over expenditure, and not with a deficit. That is why, in the very near future, new criteria will be adopted for the formation of budgets at all levels for 1994.

Yet another inflation factor, which is particularly felt, is the credits and monetary emission. In particular, the issuing of money, both in cash and noncash, has exceeded all norms that used to be acceptable and usual. The K100,000 banknote has already been put into circulation. However, this is, of course, a temporary measure that had to be resorted to. Consequently, it is necessary to stop the additional printing of money and, instead, look for other methods of covering the deficit, methods that do not involve monetary emission.

Regarding social protection, the program intends to make it more purpose-oriented.

[URYADOVYY KURYER] What will be the government's further policy with regard to prices? Everybody in our country feels hyperinflation when doing shopping. Even individual staple foodstuffs have now become simply inaccessible to many....

[Kuznetsov] Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers repeatedly took measures in order to normalize price formation and somehow regulate this process. However, no desired results were produced. This is due, first and foremost, to the shortcomings in our legislation. Enterprises received more freedom than duties. Shifting all their outlays upon the consumer, they are trying to overtake inflation. However, even though they are ahead of inflation for a certain period of time, they soon become confronted with this problem, but at a higher level. To resolve it, they have to turn to the state for assistance.

The state possibilities for social protection are very limited, and that is why enterprises resort to raising wages. However, the wages are still very much behind the prices. This leads to a situation when the implementation of reform mainly falls as a burden upon the citizens.

Furthermore. The situation in which, as decided by a corresponding Cabinet of Ministers decree, the population's incomes are no longer linked to the index of prices, came into conflict with life, and it became necessary to urgently improve the procedure for regulating current incomes. That is why the government proposes specific measures. They will be comprehensive and will be associated with many processes both in the economic and in the financial and social spheres.

Miner Strikes Continue in Krasnodon

LD1712111993 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0845 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Lugansk Oblast—On 16 December, a strike started at three mines of the "KrasnodonVuhillya" association. The town and regional councils had been warned of it as long ago as the beginning of the week. Krasnodon's strike committee's demands consist of two points: The timely and complete payment of wages and the immediate dismissal of the chief of the town's militia, Serhiy Hvozdyov, and the director of the town's trade enterprise, Anatoliy Vladykin, from their posts. Although representatives of the town's and region's authorities and the association's management assured the strike committee that cash would definitely be there, 300 miners on the first shift at the 50th Anniversary of the USSR mine refused to work on 16 December. There was a similar situation at the "Sukhodilska Skhidna" and the Barakov mines in the morning of the same day. Only some of the miners on the second shift at the 50th Anniversary of the USSR mine were on strike. [passage omitted]

A UNIAN correspondent has learned that the strike committee leader, Dmytro Kalytvyntsev, suggested in a private conversation that weapons should be handed to miners intending to form paramilitary detachments similar to the UNSO [Ukrainian National Self-Defense Organization].

Belarus

Kebich on Government Reshuffle, Customs Controls

LD1612234293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Correspondent Leonid Sviridov report from Minsk]

[Text] Belarus Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich has said that he has instructed that customs controls on the Belarus-Russian border be lifted. Mr. Kebich explained that this decision was made by the Belarus leadership in response to the Russian side's lifting customs barriers. The prime minister believes that this decision should have a positive effect on cooperation in trade between the two states and on the further integration of Russia and Belarus.

Assessing the preliminary results of the elections in Russia, Vyacheslav Kebich remarked, and I quote: The victory of Zhirinovskiy's party is phenomenal. It seems that Zhirinovskiy himself had more airtime than anyone else and then, too, he played upon our common misfortune: The people's low standard of living. End of quote.

In the opinion of the Belarus prime minister, Zhirinovskiy's success cannot in any way reflect upon Russo-Belarus relations and I quote him: The new duma will not have the same influence as the Supreme Soviet. It will sabotage many laws, but President Yeltsin has been given adequate powers. On top of that, Vyacheslav Kebich said, as head of cabinet I will not be dealing with the duma but with the executive power and the president.

When I asked him if Belarus plans on becoming part of Russia in line with Zhirinovskiy's proposal for CIS countries, the prime minister categorically replied: Never.

At today's morning meeting of the Belarus Supreme Soviet the prime minister intends to report on the reorganization of the government. Vyacheslav Kebich proposes to reduce its size by 12 percent and to replace a number of ministers. Twenty new faces may appear in the body of the Belarus Government—both ministers and ministers without portfolios.

Parliament Speaker Hospitalized, Accused of Corruption

Hypertension Diagnosed

LD1612165893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1635 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, December 16 (TASS)—Opening a closed-door meeting of the Belarussian Parliament on Thursday evening, First Deputy Parliament Chairman Vyacheslav Kuznetsov told lawmakers that parliament speaker Stanislav Shushkevich had been hospitalized with hypertensive crisis.

Shushkevich, aged 59, felt quite well yesterday. The sudden crisis was most probably prompted by the tense atmosphere in parliament which has been discussing for three days a report by an ad-hoc commission examining the activities of commercial structures set up under republican and local power bodies.

Although the parliament chief has nothing to do with corruption personally, head of the ad-hoc commission Aleksandr Lukashenko accused him of "abuse of office". He said Shushkevich illegally used services of the government's repair and building directorate. Yesterday, the speaker refuted the allegations. However, passions flared and today lawmakers used rather a bad language. In this connection, the parliament decided to hold a closed-door plenary meeting.

Despite of Shushkevich's health condition, many lawmakers insist on his resignation.

Health 'Satisfactory'

LD1712104793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1004 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Minsk December 17 TASS—The state of health of Belarusian leader Stanislav Shushkevich was satisfactory early on Friday, according to the press service of the republican parliament.

Doctors succeeded to bring down his high blood pressure and Shushkevich is currently staying at home.

Deputies Discuss Dismissal

WS1712111893 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0400 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Vyacheslav Kuznetsov, first deputy Supreme Soviet chairman, opened the evening session of the legislature on 17 December. He informed lawmakers that Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich had been hospitalized because of an attack of hypertensive heart disease. Following this announcement, deputies started to discuss including on the agenda the issue of Shushkevich's dismissal from the post of Supreme Soviet chairman.

Deputies 'Row' Over Corruption Report, Reporters Banned

WS1712075293 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by Mikhail Rutkowski]

[Excerpts] The speech by Alyaksandr Lukashenka, chairman of a temporary Belarusian Supreme Soviet committee for investigating the activities of commercial

structures in state organs, delivered on 14 December, aroused indignation among deputies and throughout the Republic. It turns out that there are almost no immaculate people in either the legislature or the government. Corruption, like a cancer, made its way to the highest administrative bodies. This was the atmosphere accompanying the 16 December morning session. A real row broke out at the very beginning, and the session was continued behind closed doors, and reporters were not permitted to attend. I was waiting outside until I saw Deputy Kakowka leave the session hall. My question is: What is going on in the Oval Hall?

[Begin recording] [Kakowka, in Russian] The closed session is continuing discussion on Lukashenka's report, and everybody is trying to comprehend what happened over the last two days. It became evident that both the democrats and the former communist nomenklatura ruling in the Republic are not without sin. Whom shall people believe then? They might believe someone who will come and promise cheap vodka and sausage, like what happened in Russia. But the most scary thing is that the legislature has started looking for those guilty of illegal activities, while economic issues, those dealing with the economic crisis, have been abandoned again. [passage omitted]

Confidence in state structures is decreasing and the state is collapsing. When the country sinks in chaos, the darkest forces may come to power.

[Rutkowski] Have there been demands to replace any officials?

[Kakowka] There have been serious grievances against the government and the Supreme Soviet chairman, which has become a tradition already. There are complaints about Alyaksandr Lukashenka as well, some of them grounded. However, the latter, for the first time spoke openly about members of the government and their involvement in corruption. [end recording]

UN Asks For Peacekeeping Troops for Bosnia

LD1612204593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1457 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] U.N. Secretary General Butrus-Ghali has asked Belarus to send a military contingent to join UNPROFOR peacekeepers in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

However, the country's legislation bans Belarusian troops from being deployed in other countries without parliamentary approval, parliamentary foreign policy advisor Valeriy Tsepkalo told INTERFAX. He says even if the parliament agrees to send peacekeepers to Bosnia, such a contingent must be made up of volunteers.

For his own part, Tsepkalo is determined to recommend Parliamentary Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich to comply with the U.N. request provided it agrees to pay for the upkeep of Belarusian troops in Bosnia.

Foreign Policy Aide Previews Clinton's 15 Jan Visit

MK1612113093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 51, 19 Dec 93 (Signed to press 14 Dec 93) p 15a

[Interview with Valeriy Tsepkalo, foreign policy adviser to the Supreme Soviet chairman, by Larisa Sayenko, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI Minsk correspondent, under the "Disarmament" rubric: "Clinton Goes to Belarus"]

[Text] Valeriy Tsepkalo, foreign policy adviser to the Supreme Soviet chairman, comments on Bill Clinton's visit to Minsk, expected on 15 January.

[Tsepkalo] I am convinced: The American President's attention is explained by Belarus' voluntary renunciation of nuclear arms against the present world tendency in which many states are trying to possess them. The validity of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty is expected to be extended in 1995. Should a new nuclear power appear by that time, be it Ukraine or Kazakhstan, that would trigger a domino effect: a number of countries—North Korea, Japan, Iran, Iraq—would demand nuclear status. The position of Ukraine and Kazakhstan at present carries a real threat that the treaty is not going to be extended.

[Sayenko] You mean to say that Clinton is trying to shine the spotlight on Belarus to see that the other countries follow suit?

[Tsepkalo] Precisely. In the course of Stanislav Shushkevich's visit to the United States this past July we called upon the American side to encourage a certain type of behavior in the international arena, in particular, Belarus' wish to become nonnuclear and neutral.

[Sayenko] What is the significance for the Republic of the $65 million the United States is appropriating under the Nunn-Lugar Act for the destruction of nuclear warheads?

[Tsepkalo] It is not a matter of how much is being set aside for us. In economic terms, it is important to convert the defense industry with the aid of American capital.

[Sayenko] The bill on mutual protection of investments between the United States and Belarus was killed in July. Will this not prove to be a curb on American business?

[Tsepkalo] A state treaty on protecting investments is undoubtedly important, but one should hardly overestimate its importance. More important is a stable state investment climate. While one should not, of course, ignore the importance of such an agreement. We will be sending a series of proposals to the American side via diplomatic channels very shortly.

[Sayenko] Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy has said he wants half of the $400 million that the U.S. Senate

appropriates each year for the destruction of the nuclear arsenals of former Soviet republics under the Nunn-Lugar Act. Is this realistic?

[Tsepkalo] Belarus has grounds for it. Having failed to honor their obligations under the Lisbon Protocol, Ukraine and Kazakhstan simply cannot lay claim to this sum. Ukraine does play, as in bridge, for higher stakes, demanding money that it in principle has no right to lay claim to. The money may be provided but no decisions would be made after all.

Besides, whereas America follows a certain policy in this matter, the indifference to it on the part of nuclear Britain and France, and of nonnuclear but economically powerful Germany, is not quite clear. Should they, too, start to follow the U.S. suit, the situation would change for the better.

Official on Foreign Crediting, Investment

WS1612120493 Minsk VECHERNIY MINSK in Russian 8 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Vasiliy Romanovskiy: "Belarus' Foreign Credits"]

[Text] Igor Yakovlevich Butom, chairman of a department within the State Committee for Foreign Relations of the Republic of Belarus, delivered a report regarding the attraction of foreign credits and investments at an international economic conference held in Minsk.

He has presented data which, in my opinion, will aid us in understanding the actual situation in this sphere.

Until now, Belarus has signed a range of intergovernmental credit agreements and concluded a number of credit agreements with international financial organizations to the sum of some $1.2 billion. As of 1 October 1993, Belarus has used $519 million of this sum.

In order to resolve acute social problems regarding supplying people with bread, dairy products, and other food, along with medicines, a considerable part of these resources has been used for purchasing basics. For example, 25 percent of the resources has been allocated to industry; 45 percent—to our agricultural sector (for grain purchase); 17 percent—to health security; eight percent—to communication; and five percent—to railway transport.

In particular, Belarus has received $135 million from Western countries and $25 million in a credit line from the United States for grain purchase. In late 1993, the sum of credits received by Belarus will likely stand at $640 million. In addition, Belarus owes a further $500 million to the former USSR states. In 1994, the entire sum of Belarusian debts can reach $2 billion. This credit sum is assessed by the World Bank as the limit for a state's currency security.

In addition, in 1994, 80 percent of foreign credits earmarked to Belarus will be spent on cost recovery projects. Some 70 percent of these credits will be spent on the purchase of new high tech equipment. The implementation of these projects will promote the economic development of Belarus and strengthen its economic potential.

Moldova

Peacekeepers Finds 'Irregularities' in Security Zone

AU1612173493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by Mircea Dascaliuc in Chisinau]

[Excerpt] Owing to the fact that the Dniester party is putting artificial obstacles in the way of the peaceful settlement of the conflict in the eastern rayons of the Republic of Moldova, the [three-party] Unified Control Commission, which today held its regular meeting in the town of Tighina, discussed the report compiled by the Unique Military Command of the peacekeeping forces with respect to the situation over the last week in the security zone.

I would like to remind our listeners that a security zone was installed on both banks of the Dniester River after the Yeltsin-Snegur accord was signed on 21 July 1992.

The report signals a great deal of infractions and irregularities, and that is why the Moldovan party again insisted that a joint team be set up consisting of the members of the Unified Control Commission and the Unique Military Command to solve any deficiencies jointly. However, that proposal was blocked by the Dniester party, which, as a precondition for the setting up of the joint team, demanded that a Dniester peacekeeping battalion be redeployed to a place close to the village of Cocieri, not far from a similar Moldovan military outpost. According to MOLDOVA-PRES news agency, being aware of possible clashes that could take place between these forces, which might trigger a new conflict, the Russian and Moldovan parties decided to refer that demand back to their superiors.

Remaining in the same geographical area, let me inform you that today in Tiraspol the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the self-styled Dniester republic, Grigore Maracuta, stated that the Moldovan leu [recently introduced national currency] will not be in circulation on the territory of the Dniester republic. [passage omitted]

Moldovan Leu Will Not Circulate in Transdniester

LD1612233293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2023 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] The Moldovan leu will not circulate on the territory of Transdniestria, chairman of the self-proclaimed Transdniestrian republic's Supreme Soviet Grigoriy Marakutsa declared to INTERFAX. In his

words, the session of the Transdniestrian parliament has considered the issue on introduction of Moldova's national currency on the Dniester's left bank but "it has failed to pass a positive decision."

Marakutsa noted that both local political leaders and residents of this region oppose the introduction of the leu.

He has also reported that according to the decision of Transdniestria's Supreme Soviet, the so-called "Transdniestrian ruble," Soviet rubles issued in 1961-1992, remain in circulation on the republic's territory. The Bank of Transdniestria has established an exchange rate of 1:1 with respect to the Russian ruble.

"It would have been an ideal variant if we had preserved the single ruble zone on the territory of the former USSR," said Marakutsa, "but as there will no more be such a zone, we primarily strive to earn Russian rubles."

"It is vitally important for us because 80

of Transdniestrian enterprises' economic ties are with Russia," he underlined.

'Sappers' Mining Arms Depots to Prevent Thefts

LD1612211993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1704 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau December 16 TASS—Military sappers have begun mining arms depots in the self-proclaimed Dniester republic of Moldova to prevent arms thefts, the press service of the Dniester Defence Ministry said on Thursday.

The press service stressed that special signs warn the potential intruders to keep off and stay away from the depots. Local authorities have also launched a campaign to explain to the population, especially to the children, the aim of the mining and warn them against trying to penetrate the mined zone.

However, observers believe the measure is unlikely to bring the desired results unless a large-scale campaign is launched to combat growing crime in the Republic. Aleksandr Lebed, the commander of the 14th Russian Army stationed in the Dniester republic, said that lately five attacks have been carried out on the army depots. As a result, one soldier was killed during one of the attacks.

Kazakhstan

Law on Delegating Additional Authority to President

LD1612193593 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] The Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on a Temporary Delegation of Additional Authority to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Heads of Local Administrations.

Clause No 1. Prior to the new parliament's starting its work, the head of state has the right to issue—on the basis of, and for the implementation of, the constitution—acts that have legal validity. To stipulate that these acts are valid until the relevant laws are adopted.

Clause No 2. To entrust the President with the right to exercise, if need be, the authority of the Supreme Kenges until the first session of the newly elected Supreme Soviet and with the future approval by him, as is secured by items 12-15, 18, and 20 of the clause 64 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Clause No 3. To entrust to president of the Republic of Kazakhstan the right to independently exercise powers that are envisaged by items 3, 7, and 16 of clause 78 of the Constitution until the first session of the newly elected parliament.

Clause No 4. To give the president of the Republic the right to approve the advance budget of the Republic for the first half of 1994 by singling out the first quarter, followed by further examination by the first session of the newly elected Supreme Soviet.

Clause No 5. To give the right to heads of local administration to pass an advance budget of the relevant territorial units for the first half of 1994 by singling out its first quarter, followed by future examination by the newly elected local representative bodies.

Clause No 6. To give heads of oblast administrations the right to set up aul/farming okrugs within the boundaries of the existing aul, rural soviets which include within them a number of settlements.

This law comes into forces from the day of its publishing.

[Signed] The President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nazarbayev

President Makes Republic Day Speech

LD1612184793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1251 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[Text] Almaty December 16 TASS—Kazakhstan marks Republic Day, its second anniversary, on Thursday [16 December].

Speaking of the importance to preserve and strengthen further racial accord, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev called this accord the most important condition for pulling out the republic of the economic crisis and for filling its sovereignty with new, more realistic content.

At the same time, the Kazakh president again stressed his readiness to promote an economic integration of the Commonwealth of Independent States, above all between Kazakhstan and Russia.

There is also some peculiar feature about this holiday. It coincides in time with the beginning of the tragic events in Almaty on December 17, 1986 when troops were used against young people who protested the arbitrary dismissal by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Dinmukhamed Kunayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party. Many regard this day as commemoration day.

The Kazakh president voiced an idea of putting off the republic's main holiday to another, more suitable date. The recently-dissolved parliament rejected this idea, although the majority of Kazakh people evidently approve the president's idea. It is up to a new parliament which will be elected next March, to decide this question.

'Slavic Movement' Confronting Kazakh Nationalism

PM1712094993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 93 First Edition p 6

[Sergey Skorokhodov report under the "Neighboring Countries" rubric: "Lost Homeland"]

[Text] Akmola—"Lad," the Republic Slavic movement, has held a conference in Akmola, the third conference to date and the first legal one since the movement was registered in May this year.

"Lad's" goal is to preserve the ethnic identity, culture, and languages of the Slavs and bring about the spiritual rebirth of the Slavic peoples in Kazakhstan. It is no secret why it has become necessary to preserve the national identity of peoples who form 60 percent of this country's population.

According to the report by V. Mikhaylov, chairman of the movement's Republic Council, the political situation in the Republic is offensive to Slavs and to the Russian diaspora in particular. Today every Russian should apologize, according to the politicized section of the Kazakh population. Perhaps this apology is for ruining his own home in an attempt to help other nations? Or for saving the vast expanses of present-day Kazakhstan from the Dzhungars and bringing them to life?

From the moment the Republic acquired independence a wave of Kazakh nationalism arose here, dignified with the title of a growth of national self-consciousness. Claiming hegemony over these vast territories, which were received as a gift from the Bolshevik regime back in

1920, the Kazakh nation is now laying the foundations of a monoethnic state system. The Kazakhs, who tend to identify their ancestors with the Huns and the Mongols who brought terror to Europe, clearly believe in their own "greatness." With no previous statehood of their own they have decided to make full use of their opportunity now and build a nation-state for the Kazakhs.

That process of building is going ahead at full speed. The Constitution and a number of laws already adopted enshrine the Kazakh nation as the elect in multiethnic Kazakhstan.

This policy has led to an exodus of higher education and scientific specialists and an increase in the shortage of skilled cadres in industry.

Strictly speaking the appearance first of the "Russian Society" and then of the "Lad" Slavic movement is also a result of that policy, participants in the conference believe.

N. Fedorov, a comrade of the hetman of the "hard-line" expatriates' association [zemlyachestvo "gorkoy linii"], who addressed the conference, accused the authorities of trying to ban the revival of Cossack traditions.

The inhabitants of the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan, those people who over 70 years ago joined the Kirghiz-Kazakh autonomous formation, cannot accept the idea that they are not Russian citizens either. Their fathers, who were born in Russia and did not migrate anywhere, now find themselves outside their homeland.

That is why the resolution adopted at the "Lad" conference says: The policy of the leadership of the Republic of Kazakhstan forces the Slavs living in Kazakhstan who consider it their homeland to unite all their forces and take firm action to defend their rights.

Meanwhile...

The renaming campaign that has swept Kazakhstan since the acquisition of national sovereignty is continuing. The Republic's Supreme Council Presidium has adopted another decree removing Russian names from the map.

The village of Samsonovka, administrative center of the Kurenbelskiy rural council in Dzhambul Oblast, for example, will henceforth be known as the village of Kurenbel; Yevgenyevka will be known as the village of Kolbastau; the village of Iskra is now the village of Sasay; Morozovka is renamed Uyzbay... In short, sixty or so population centers in the Republic have been given Kazakh names in a single day.

Not content with simply renaming Russian settlements, the Presidium, clearly consisting of linguistics specialists, has "regularized the transcription" of a number of geographical names. Henceforth Kokchetav in Russian is to be pronounced as nothing more or less than "Kokshetau," and Burlyutobinskiy Rayon is to be called "Borlitobinskiy"...

The situation is certainly no joke, because it is being dealt with by the Supreme Council Presidium. Consequently this is not some game but a state policy. You do not need me to tell you how the Russians who brought these lands to life and built settlements and cities here will react to such a policy.

Consumption Fund Regulation Seen as Move Away From Market

PM1712100593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Vladimir Ardayev: "Pay Frozen in Kazakhstan To Strengthen National Currency"]

[Text] Almaty—The Republic of Kazakhstan State Commission for the Introduction of a National Currency has issued a decree on emergency measures to regulate funds channeled into consumption.

In accordance with it, in order to stabilize the economy during the period of the introduction of the national currency, state regulation of funds channeled into consumption is to be introduced in Kazakhstan as of 1 December in the case of enterprises, organizations, and institutions, including commercial structures, banks, and insurance organizations.

Pay, including all types of bonuses from the consumption fund, will now depend on the funds available for that purpose. And the growth of the consumption funds will be adjusted in proportion to the growth of the volumes of production, works, and services. If these volumes decrease, the consumption fund will be reduced by 0.6 percent for each one percent decrease.

So yet another step has been taken toward strengthening the tenge and away from the market.

Kyrgyzstan

President Akayev To Nominate New Government

LD1612133393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1300 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boria Mainayev]

[Text] Bishkek, December 16 (TASS)—President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev consulted eight political parties about the composition of the new republican government and the new ministers will be nominated for parliamentary approval Friday [17 December].

The president urged mass media heads on Thursday to actively advocate democratic and market reforms in the country.

Kyrgyzstan is in a deep economic and political crisis and journalists have to do everything possible to preserve national unity and civil peace, he said.

New Prime Minister Outlines Government Program

LD1612230193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1809 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By Andrey Persh..., Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Talking to newsmen in Bishkek Wednesday, Kyrgyzstan's new Prime Minister Abbas Dzhumagulov focused on the guidelines for his Cabinet's performance.

He said, among other things, that the Cabinet would be working under a strategy for social and economic development drafted by President Askar Akayev and a government program for 1994-1995, endorsed by the national parliament. The Cabinet would hope to boost the national reforms.

Dzhumagulov assigned priority to the development of Kyrgyzstan's own oil and gas industry with the help of foreign investment and aid to the coal industry. He said the national government would be making conscious efforts to reduce the consumption of fuel so as to make the republic less dependent on foreign fuel imports. The new Prime Minister would be ready to act to insure what he describes as the normal day to day management of the economy.

Within the next few days the Prime Minister will come up with suggestions for restructuring the Cabinet. A number of Ministries and government agencies would merge and, he said, only when the government's new structure won endorsement, personal appointments would be confirmed.

The new Prime Minister said he supported a gradual transition to free market relations and the preservation of the effectively working old types of property relations with concurrent moves to encourage private enterprise.

Prime Minister Dzhumagulov is going to pay his first foreign visits to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

Presidential adviser Nurlan Eshmambetov said Dzhumagulov's appointment as prime minister provided another chance for political stabilization in Kyrgyzstan. "Dzhumagulov, who headed the government before the democratic forces came to power, knows the economic situation in the republic quite well, but is not a conservative and supports innovations," Eshmambetov told INTERFAX in an exclusive interview. At the same time, the new premier is quite cautious about reforms that might destabilize the Kyrgyz economy, Eshmambetov said.

He said the planned reshuffle in the government was actually designed to ensure a balance between the reformers and those having stong organizational experience. Dzhumagulov would help to lessen the tensions fanned up by some political parties and movements, Eshmambetov said.

IF Note: Dzhumagulov was born in 1934 and is a graduate of the Moscow Oil and Gas Institute. For 10 years he worked as chief engineer at the Kyrgyzneft administration, in 1979 he was appointed head of the industry department of the Central Committee of Kyrgyzstan's Communist Party, in 1985 he was secretary of the Issyk Kul regional Communist Party committee, in 1986-90 he headed the republic's government, and since 1991 headed the administration of Chu Region.

Tajikistan

Russian Troops Repel Intruders From Afghanistan

PM1612170193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[INTERFAX report from the "From Our Correspondents and News Agencies" roundup: "Three-Hour Fight on the Tajik-Afghan Border"]

[Text] According to a report from the Russian Border Troops Press Office, groups of between 10 and 20 gunmen have made three attempts to break through from Afghanistan to Tajikistan in sectors manned by the Moskovskiy and Pyanj border troop detachments.

Weapons were fired on two occasions at locations where the intruders crossed. The last of the groups of gunmen to break through in the sector of the Pyanj Border Detachment 6th Border Post retreated onto adjacent territory after a three-hour fight with Russian border guards. There were no casualties among the servicemen.

U.S. Delegation Studies Peacekeeping Efforts

Meets With Prime Minister

LD1512145793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1351 GMT 15 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe December 15 TASS—A group of representatives from the U.S. National Security Council and the State Department is holding strictly confidential talks in Tajikistan and, as TASS learned from reliable sources, the issues in question concern the legal status of CIS peace-keeping forces in Tajikistan and the possibility of using them under the auspices of the United Nations or the CSCE.

On Wednesday the experts, headed by Rosemarie Forsythe, [a] director of the National Security Council, met with Tajik Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdullajanov, visited the republican Foreign Ministry and had a long meeting with commander of the unified CIS peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan Boris Pyankov.

All meetings were held behind closed doors; however, it became known that U.S. experts oppose the inclusion of the Tajik Army into the peace-keeping force as the former cannot be neutral in the conflict.

It is also known that after talks in Dushanbe the experts will negotiate with the Russian Government and will report on the results of their trip to the UN Security Council.

Meets With Military Commander

LD1512115793 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 0800 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] A delegation of representatives from the National Security Council and officials of the U.S. State Department, headed by Mrs. Rosemarie Forsythe, a director for the U.S. National Security Council, which is in Dushanbe on a visit met with Colonel General Pyankov, commander of the CIS peacekeeping forces today.

The American guests were interested in the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border and familiarized themselves with the position of [the CIS] peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan during the meeting.

UN Status for Peacekeepers Discussed

LD1612195393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1144 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Colonel General Boris Pyankov, commander of CIS peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan, thinks that the forces will become UN or CSCE troops. He said so following a closed-door meeting with a delegation of the U.S. National Security Council and State Department headed by the NSC Director Rosemary Forsyth.

"If this decision is made, numerous problems would be resolved and allegations would be disproved that Russian troops in the Central Asian region are occupiers," Pyankov said. He emphasized that "Russia will suggest to other CIS member nations who are UN members, in particular Ukraine and Belarus, to take turns in sending their troops to Tajikistan on a six month peacekeeping mission."

In Pyankov's words, the presence of peacekeeping forces in Taajikistan was a restraining factor. He emphasized that the CIS forces were neutral in that they did not support the Tajik government or opposition and peform their duty in compliance with guidelines for UN peacekeeping forces, protection of the state border being an exception.

Russian General Warns of Resurgence of Opposition

LD1712111293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0415 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] General Boris Pyankov, commander of the collective peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan, does not rule out the possibility that the armed Tajik opposition will undertake new large-scale actions from the territory of neighboring Afghanistan in the spring. According to military intelligence information, the opposition is trying to determine the location and equipment of the Russian military units stationed in Tajikistan. Gen. Pyankov has said that several large groups have infiltrated the area of the Garm Ravines.

Afghan Group Arrives To Prepare for Rabbani Visit

LD1712110993 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 0500 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] A working delegation of the Islamic State of Afghanistan has arrived in the city of Dushanbe from Kabul on a special flight yesterday to prepare the official visit of Professor Borhanoddin Rabbani, the president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan.

Besides resolving some technical issues related to the forthcoming visit of the distinguished guest, the members of the delegation together with their Tajik colleagues will prepare the final texts of those documents, which will be signed in the course of Borhanoddin Rabbani's visit to Tajikistan.

Turkmenistan

Niyazov, Border Commanders Discuss Cooperation

LD1612213493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1842 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat December 16 TASS—Turkmenistan's President Saparmurad Niyazov met with the commanders of Turkmen border troops in Dushanbe [as received] on Thursday [16 December] to discuss military and border issues.

The meeting was attended by representatives of Russian border troops who are in Turkmenistan as experts to coordinate issues of further cooperation in the protection of the Turkmen state border and preparation of an inter-state agreement to this effect.

Niyazov stressed the need to work out a concrete mechanism of cooperation which would envisage joint patrolling and protection of the border. He pointed out that Turkmenistan has no war plans and considers issues of military cooperation with Russia, including the protection of the state border, within the context of military support which is vital for every state.

Both Russian and Turkmen border guards supported Niyazov's opinion that they should carry out their service jointly on the basis of principles of civilised military cooperation.

Later in the day, Niyazov met for a private conversation with Andrey Nikolayev, commander of the Russian border troops, to discuss the issues of joint protection of Turkmenistan's frontiers.

Uzbekistan

Brzezinski Meets Karimov, Opposition Leader

PM1612140193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Shakhabutdin Zaynutdinov: "Z. Brzezinski Has Talked With Officials and the Opposition in Uzbekistan"]

[Text] Tashkent—Zbigniew Brzezinski, adviser to the U.S. Center for Strategic and International Studies, has paid a brief visit to Tashkent.

During a talk with President Karimov, according to an official report he discussed the prospects for Uzbek-U.S. relations. But to judge by information from trustworthy sources brzezinskiy at the same time had a thorough talk with one of the leaders of the "Birlik" ("Unity") opposition movement.

Russian Commander Ends Visit to Tashkent

LD1612205093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1457 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] General Andrey Nikolayev, a Russian border troops commander, believes that the internal border of CIS countries should be open. He has told journalists after a one-day visit to Uzbekistan that in Tashkent the sides mapped out additional measures to reinforce the common border of CIS states and maintain contact between Uzbek and Russian border troops. He also reported that a memorandum had been initialed to safeguard the CIS external frontiers collectively.

"In regard to external border," Nikolayev said, "concerted actions are essential both legislatively and in terms of custom regulations."

Armenia

Status of Front Updated; Firing on Armenia Reported

NC1612192893 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the latest situation on the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] front lines and the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Although tension continues to exist in the NKR, the situation has been relatively stable over the past two days. In fact, the number of combat operations has decreased considerably. The confrontation is mainly in the form of fighting between positions. We have not received any information about casualties.

According to the NKR Military Intelligence Department, Azerbaijan is massing reinforcements and armored vehicles along the northern part of the front line; that is, in the direction of the Armenian defense positions in Mardakertskiy Rayon. Reports we received earlier said that the enemy is massing large military units and many armored vehicles in various areas close to the front lines. Nevertheless, the outcome of previous combat operations proves that Azerbaijan will not achieve its objectives. Neither the large quantity of military equipment that Republic has nor the mercenaries it has employed will help it achieve its objectives. Previous efforts by Azerbaijan's military command headquarters to take the initiative on the battlefronts were unsuccessful. It will not be successful in the future, either. The NKR's defense forces are capable of rebuffing Azerbaijan's attacks. They will successfully continue to safeguard the NKR people's security.

It is no coincidence that the Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh] forces are not the first to open fire. The Azerbaijani units fire first. The Artsakh defense units retaliate only by launching counterattacks. The positional fighting is of a unilateral nature. The Armenian side usually refrains from returning fire.

Meanwhile, Azerbaijan has increased its aggressive operations against Armenia's border areas. The Armenian Ministry of Defense Information Center has disclosed that Azerbaijan's military units fired on the position around [placename indistinct] in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon with rocket launchers and mortars from 1200 to 2115 yesterday. No one was wounded on the Armenian side. The Armenian border guards refrained from launching retaliatory operations.

Azerbaijan's military units fired on the positions around Agazamud in Idzhevanskiy Rayon with mortars and machine guns on 14 December. [Words indistinct] was also fired on that same day. Meanwhile, Azerbaijan's military forces in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic fired on Voskevank in Araratskiy Rayon with various types of arms. The Armenian side refrained from returning the fire in all cases.

All that indicates that Armenia is interested in [words indistinct]. Regrettably, Azerbaijan's leaders are convinced that prolonging the war is the only way to remove the dangerous situation in the region, and they are not heeding the international community's views. In fact, they continue to obstruct the mediation efforts by the international organizations, which want the dispute to be resolved through talks. However, Azerbaijan's policy will not serve that republic. In fact, the gradually deepening political and economic crises in Azerbaijan confirm this view.

Karabakh Says Azerbaijani Offensive Unsuccessful

NC1612190693 Yerevan SNARK in English 1409 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Stepanakert, December 16. (SNARK)—As SNARK was informed at the Karabakh Defence Army's staff, an attempt of the Azerbaijani army to break through the defence positions of Karabakh forces has been failed. According to data of this source, an offensive undertaken by the Azerbaijani tank groups on December 15 afternoon in the south-western direction of the Karabakh front line was completely repulsed.

As Karabakh war experts say, the Azerbaijani attack was preceded by hard artillery preparation. Both sides had casualties in men power and military equipment. According to the same source, this attack was spearheaded by Afghan mojahedin. This source also says that for today's morning all fightings in this zone were completed.

Russian Divisions To Form Mobile Brigades

NC1612191093 Yerevan SNARK in English 1406 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, December 16 (SNARK)—The Russian 127 division distributed on the territory of Armenia will be re-formed into three mobile brigades, the Armenian State Defense Minister Vazgen Sargisyan told Armenian journalists. The content of the division was completed by those Russian draftees who live in Armenia.

The Armenian draftees completed the Russian frontier forces distributed at the border with Turkey and Iran.

NKR's Foreign Minister Visits Yerevan for Talks

NC1612191893 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] The foreign minister of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] has arrived in Yerevan for a daylong visit. He has held unofficial talks with the ambassadors of several foreign countries in Yerevan. The situation in the region and matters related to the efforts to find a peaceful solution to the dispute were discussed. The

foreign minister said that the NKR is worried about Azerbaijan's military preparations. He said that he is convinced that Azerbaijan's approach indicates that the neighboring republic wants to use force to resolve the dispute. According to the foreign minister, this viewpoint is confirmed by Azerbaijan's rejection of the calendar for peaceful measures.

Parliament Not Granting Government Emergency Powers

MK1612161093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Armenia"]

[Text] The parliament session that began 13 December to discuss monetary circulation in the Republic is proceeding in a rather tense manner. The government demands from the lawmakers emergency powers to stabilize the situation. The prime minister had expected simultaneously to give emergency powers to internal affairs organs in a bid to thwart violations and abuses in the sphere of monetary circulation attributed in particular to the fact that dollars and Russian rubles continue to circulate underground on the Republic's territory.

The parliamentarians, however, so far refuse to grant emergency powers to the government, while criticizing it for allowing monetary circulation to have gone virtually out of control. Many parliamentarians continue to demand the resignation of the government and the transfer of prime ministerial duties to republic President Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

Economists Call For Government's Resignation

PM1612141993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Bablumyan: "Economists Demand Armenian Government's Resignation"]

[Text] Yerevan—A group of eminent Armenian economists has spoken of the need to introduce a state of economic emergency in the Republic.

Under the conditions of the economy which is falling apart before people's very eyes, they see in this the only salvation, predicting the economy's complete collapse otherwise. The scholars' statement sets as a condition the immediate resignation of the present government, which is described as self-seeking, amateurish, and impotent. In the scholars' opinion the government is responsible for the very profound crisis that has gripped the republic's economy.

Azerbaijan

Renewed Attacks by Both Sides Reported

Armenian Attack Rebuffed

NC1612155293 Baku Radio Baku International Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry has revealed that the Armenian Armed Forces launched a strong attack in Beynaganskiy Rayon again. Azerbaijan's military units resisted, rebuffing the onslaught and forcing the enemy to retreat after losing many men and armored vehicles.

Fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh

LD1712091893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0500 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Contradictory reports are continuing to come in from the Karabakh front. Yesterday the Armenian side carried out intensive shelling of the town of Beynagan from a Grad missile installation and with artillery. During the fighting from 10 to 16 December the Armenian side lost more than 100 people killed and nine pieces of armored equipment.

In Yerevan they report that settlements in the Martuni rayon of the Nagorno-Karabakh republic, as well as the defensive positions of the Karabakh self-defense forces, were subjected to concentrated missile and artillery bombardment by Azerbaijan on Thursday. There are casualties. Houses have been destroyed.

News Agency Poll Reports 59.9 Percent Support Aliyev

NC1612203993 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] The AZERBAIJAN-TURKEY NEWS AGENCY [Azerbaycan-Turk Ajentligi] has reported that the public opinion poll carried out by the independent Sociological Research Center has indicated that President Geydar Aliyev maintains his popularity. According to the poll, the outcome of which has just been made public, some 59.9 percent of the respondents support President Geydar Aliyev; 35.9 percent support Isa Kamberov, former chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet; and 24.5 percent support former President Abulfaz Elchibey and State Secretary Lala Shovkat Gadzhiyeva.

Georgia

Russian Units Continue Guarding Railroad, Roads

LD1612195993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1144 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Units of the Russian Transcaucasian Army Group (TAG) continue guarding the railroad and highways in Western Georgia, Colonel Gennadiy Dolgachev, head of

the TAG press center, told INTERFAX Thursday. He emphasized that the operation will continue until the Georgian leadership does not need the help of Russian troops.

He said that the guarding duty was costly but proceeded without any excesses. "We would rather stay in barracks," Dolgachev said.

He made it clear that out of the 150 flats seized from Russian servicemen in Tbilisi and elsewhere in Georgia as few as four have been returned, despite the assurances made by Georgia's leaders.

Abkhaz Government Formed; Premier Appointed

LD1612232693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By Ruslan Khashig "from Georgia"]

[Text] [Khashig] Alarming reports are still arriving from Abkhazia. Hostilities have now moved to the mountainous area of this autonomous republic.

[Deputy Prime Minister Tamaz Nadareishvili] When our delegation was in Geneva, and after—I mean on 8-9 December—Abkhaz separatists resumed hostilities in two rayons—Galskiy and Gulripshskiy. In particular, the Kodori Gorge in Gulripshskiy rayon came under an artillery attack and four villages were burned to the ground in Galskiy rayon. Unfortunately, people were killed. These processes are continuing—I mean ethnic cleansing.

Despite the Geneva talks, genocide against the Georgian people is still continuing today throughout the Abkhaz territory, where there is a Georgian population. I say this with full responsibility.

[Khashig] The economy, destroyed by the war, and the Russian blockade which has lasted for three months already, has placed the Abkhaz population in a difficult economic situation. Under the circumstances a parliament session of the Republic of Abkhazia has considered the issue of the republic's government. Opening the discussion on the issue, Supreme Soviet Chairman Vladislav Ardzinba said it is necessary to form a new, strong and multinational government capable of taking the republic out of the postwar crisis situation. After adopting the resignation of the government in full strength, the Supreme Soviet deputies appointed a new chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers. Sokrat Dzhindzholia, who was the deputy chairman of Abkhazia's Supreme Soviet, was appointed.

Bearing in mind the emergency of the situation, the parliament's deputies immediately began forming a government and mainly supported the proposed candidates.

The same parliamentary session adopted two draft constitutions for consideration. By the parliament's decision the constitutional commission, headed by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, has been set up in order to draft a single draft basic law of the Republic of Abkhazia. After listening to a report by the head of the Abkhaz delegation at the Geneva talks for the settlement of the aftermath of the Georgian-Abkhaz war, the deputies approved the reached agreements. [video shows Nadareishvili giving an interview to correspondent in his office; refugees; deputies addressing parliament session]

Support for Shevardnadze Indicates 51.6 Percent

PM1612165193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[INTERFAX report from the "From Our Correspondents and News Agencies" roundup: "Opinion Poll Results Still Put Shevardnadze Ahead"]

[Text] Georgian Leader Eduard Shevardnadze continues to preserve by far the highest ratings for popularity among the republic population.

As the results of a sociological poll published in Tbilisi and conducted by the Sociological Research Center of the Georgian capital show, 51.6 percent of those polled expressed support for him. One of the opposition leaders, Otar Nanadze, moves into second place with 25.8 percent. Of those polled, 3.5 percent cast their vote in favor of ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

Sigua Accuses Shevardnadze Over IMF, CIS Issues

LD1612211393 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1500 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 16 Dec—Georgia's former prime minister, Tengiz Sigua, today presented an IBERIA correspondent with a sensational document—a letter from the IMF that Sigua received from the United States in July. The letter says that the Monetary Fund is ready to earmark a credit of $200 million for Georgia if the credit-monetary policy pursued by the National Bank is changed.

"I have asked Eduard Shevardnadze to tell the Georgian people about this good news in one of his traditional radio interviews, but Shevardnadze had kept this letter a secret from the Georgian people as the $200 million was an alternative to joining the CIS. Russia has thrown us only 10 million [figure only as received] as an act of compassion.

"We could have radically improved our people's economic situation with the $200 million, but as has been revealed, Shevardnadze maneuvered the people into believing that he would have to join the CIS. That is why Shevardnadze did not wish to reveal the letter to the public, and I repeat, it would have been a path for saving Georgia as opposed to joining the CIS."

Estonia

Parliament Chairman Criticizes U.S. Envoy's Actions

WS1712112093 Tallinn BNS in English 1909 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 16, BNS—Ulo Nugis, the chairman of the Estonian parliament, said in an interview to the POSTIMEES newspaper that the behavior of U.S. Ambassador Robert Frasure on a visit to Narva "was startling, to put it mildly."

The parliament chairman was vexed that the U.S. ambassador, who visited Narva last week, met first with the city's former leaders Vladimir Chuikin and Vladimir Mizhui as well as with Yuri Mishin, the leader of the Union of Russian Citizens of Narva, and only then with the present leaders who were elected in October.

Nugis claimed that, if an Estonian diplomat or ambassador would have preferred on a visit abroad some politician unacceptable to that state's leadership, he would have been recalled the very next day.

Nugis promised to ask Frasure at the first opportunity "what exactly he had in mind by showing such preferences."

The office of the parliament's chairman told BNS Nugis will have an opportunity to confront Frasure already "at an official reception Friday [17 December]."

Parliament Ratifies Israeli Arms Purchase Deal

WS1612143193 Tallinn BNS in English 1003 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 15, BNS—The Estonian parliament on the second reading today ratified the arms purchase deal signed between Estonia and TAAS Israel Industries Ltd. on Jan. 7. The legislators voted 57 to 10 and 2 abstentions for approving the deal.

The 59 million U.S. dollar agreement entered its first reading in the parliament on Dec. 8.

The arms are to be shipped to Estonia by the end of 1995. The payment schedule set for Estonia ends in the year 2000. The Estonian government has issued bills of exchange to finance the purchase.

Arms to be received under the agreement include small weapons for police and army units, anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, as well as ammunition, spare parts and supplementary equipment.

MP Criticizes Plans To Manufacture Ammunition

WS1612145393 Tallinn BNS in English 1416 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 16, BNS—Estonia's plans to manufacture ammunition for the small arms purchased from Israel conflict with the deal the Estonian Government concluded in January with the TAAS Israel Industries Ltd., Olav Anton, a member of the parliament's centrist faction, claimed in an interview to BNS.

Defense Minister Juri Luik told BNS the defense officials are considering three options to start in Estonia the production of 5.56, 7.62 and 9 mm cartridges that conform with NATO standards. He said negotiations have been held with several Estonian companies.

Anton, who voted Wednesday [15 December] against ratifying the arms deal, claimed the production of ammunition for the arms purchased from Israel is "too expensive."

"It would have been much cheaper to reach an agreement on the production of ammunition before concluding the deal," he said. "It makes no sense to acquire arms if each soldier only gets five cartridges a year."

"I don't think Estonia would have been able to buy a license for producing weapons, but it surely would have managed to buy an ammunition production license," Anton told BNS.

Anton regarded production of small arms in Estonia as "unlikely."

"The arms industry is a highly specialized branch and the market is saturated," Anton maintained. "In Tallinn there are probably more weapons stores than stores selling children's clothing."

Rein Helme, the chairman of the parliamentary Defense Commission, however, was optimistic about local production of ammunition.

"If the production of ammunition in Estonia gets started, we can say our defense potential improves considerably," Helme told BNS.

In Helme's opinion, the shortage of antiaircraft defense systems is the weakest link in the Estonian defense forces' armament.

Parliament Approves 1994 State Budget

WS1612144393 Tallinn BNS in English 1003 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 15, BNS—The Estonian parliament with 56 votes to 12 today approved the state budget for 1994. The budget foresees 5.79 billion kroons in the country's next year's revenues and expenditure.

In a few last amendments voted into the draft in the third reading, the parliament cut next year's planned support to the writers', artists', composers' and movie unions to a bare 50,000 kroons each.

The money saved this way was decided to be given for the building of the National Museum and capital repair of the Estonia Concert Hall.

The budget now also includes more then 60 million kroons in subsidies for bus transport in rural areas, and 4 million for city bus lines.

"I am very glad," was Prime Minister Mart Laar sparing in words after the budget had been passed.

Adopts Taxation Law

WS1712112693 Tallinn BNS in English 1527 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 16, BNS—The Estonian parliament adopted today with 65 votes for and one abstention the law on taxation.

The law establishes excise taxes, the income tax, the gambling tax, the gift and inheritance tax, the turnover tax, the land tax, the social tax and the customs duty as state taxes.

Local councils will establish local taxes under the law. The taxes must not obstruct the free movement of people, goods and services.

This is the second version of the taxation law the parliament adopted this year. The president rejected the first version and the State Court later ruled it conflicted with the Constitution.

The first version was said to violate the rights of the taxpayer, since it did not allow the taxpayer to apply to the court at a certain stage of proceedings, and authorized tax officials to install telecameras in the taxpayer's office. It also left definition of local taxes in the hands of the finance minister, that is, the executive branch of government.

Under the new law, tax officials have the right to attach meters to various tanks, containers, depositories and apparatuses in enterprises and organizations if they previously inform the taxpayer of it. A separate law will define local taxes.

Ratifies Baltic Free Trade Agreement

WS1712112493 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1816 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, December 16—Estonia's Riigikogu [parliament] on Wednesday [15 December] ratified free trade agreement between Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

The three Baltic countries concluded the agreement on September 13 in Estonia's capital Tallinn in hopes of creating over 8-million-strong common market to attract foreign investments.

The agreement was signed by Estonia's Prime Minister Mart Laar, Latvia's Premier Valdis Birkavs and Lithuania's Premier Adolfas Slezevicius.

"It is the most important document ever signed by the Baltic countries," Latvia's premier then said.

Slezevicius said the agreement expressed Baltic unity and developing cooperation.

"...we will create a huge common market which will attract foreign investors into the Baltic states," Laar said.

Estonian politicians have said it will facilitate integration of Estonia and other Baltic countries into European economic structures and finally into the European Union.

Latvia's Saeimas [parliament] ratified the agreement on November 29. Lithuania has said it will ratify the agreement before Christmas.

Legislators To Form Three New Factions

WS1712113293 Tallinn BNS in English 1613 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 16, BNS—Three new factions are being formed in the Estonian parliament, Ulo Nugis, the parliament's chairman, said at a press conference today.

The Independents faction applied for registration today. The faction includes Ants Erm, Avo Kiir, Jaanus Raidal and Toivo Uustalo, who belonged to the Estonian National Independence Party's faction; Mart Niklus, a former member of the Estonian Citizen faction; and Kalju Poldvere from the Pro Patria faction.

Kiir was elected as the new faction's chairman and Poldvere was picked for vice chairman. Raidal was also proposed for the chairman's post, but he refused to stand.

Nugis said the parliament's leadership may register the Independents faction already at its session later today.

The parliament's chairman confirmed that another faction may be formed next week. Nugis said the faction will be set up by the core of the Free Parliamentary Union.

Nugis also hinted at a third new faction being formed in the parliament. He declined to disclose any details, however, since "all potential members of the future faction haven't yet made up their minds."

Trade With EC, Eastern Europe To Increase

WS1512120393 Tallinn BNS in English 1601 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 14, BNS—The importance of the EC and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in Estonia's foreign trade is to increase in the next two years, whereas trade with CIS and the EFTA countries (including the Nordic countries) is to further lose its present predominance, a survey indicates.

The survey, prepared by the Institute of Economics of the Estonian Academy of Sciences, predicts a steady increase in the country's exports from this year's 10.5 billion kroons to 14.5 billion kroons in 1994, and to 18.5

billion kroons in 1995. Exports in 1992 prices are predicted to move up 15-20 percent in 1994, and about 10 percent in 1995.

Growing exports to the EC are expected to account for most of the rise, while the present leading trade partners from CIS and EFTA are to lose some of their importance.

According to the forecast, the share of Estonia's exports to CIS by the end of 1995 will decline to 20-21 percent from the present 26-27 percent, and to EFTA, to 29 percent from the present 31-32 percent of the country's total exports. Exports to the EC are to rise to 25-26 percent from the present 23 percent during the same period.

The countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including Latvia and Lithuania, are expected to become the destination of 14 percent of Estonian exports by the end of 1995, against 12-13 percent currently.

Experts from the Estonian institute say the Baltics should see to it that competition between the countries were effective and prevent monopolies from gaining upper hand.

The survey at the same time points out that mediation trade—a sphere upon which once so much hope was laid—has failed to work in the legal framework. The so-called informal and largely tax-evading businesses active there are pushing the whole sector into bad reputation.

The survey predicts no major changes in Estonia's export of services in the near future. The leading sector there has been the export of transport services, a business worth 2-3 billion kroons a year.

A cause for worries are the speedily growing IMPORTS. The annual growth in the past year reached 33 percent in comparable prices. This is to be taken as a serious signal of danger to the whole economy, as the import growth rate substantially exceeds the growth in demand and in the domestic output. Experts warn that excessive imports may lead to a shrinking national economy and rising unemployment.

The forecast says exports may reach 17 billion kroons in current prices in 1994, and will apparently exceed 23 billion kroons in 1995. The annual growth rate is expected to remain within the 11-13 percent limit in comparable prices.

Despite a decrease in the CIS's share in total imports to Estonia, Russia will still remain the country's main supplier with natural gas. Estonia will also continue buying metals and raw materials, oil shale, food and cheaper manufactured goods from Russia. Imports from the CIS in Estonia's foreign trade balance are expected to fall to 19-20 percent from the present 23-24 percent by late 1995.

Less imports will also come from the EFTA countries. In two years, EFTA is predicted to account for 32 percent of imports to Estonia against the current 36 percent. EC imports to Estonia are expected to rise from 22 percent to 26 percent, and of countries of Central and Eastern Europe, from 23 percent to 26 percent in the same period.

The import of services is no major threat to the Estonian economy. The forecast puts the estimated value of imports of services at 2.6 billion kroons in 1994, and at 3 billion, in 1995.

Firms Note Plans To House Departing Russian Military

WS1712075193 Tallinn BNS in English 1416 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 16, BNS—The Norwegian Mart Consulting Group [MCG] and the Estonian-Russian joint ventures Pakri and Shelon have for more than a year been planning to build a city in the Novgorod region for the Russian military and their families who leave Estonia. The companies' representatives introduced their plans today to Population Minister Peeter Olesk and Andres Kollist, the director general of the Migration Department.

Kollist told BNS a spokesman of MCG claimed the project is backed by the Norwegian Government and the companies expect to receive support also from the Swedish Cabinet. Negotiations with several investors are in progress.

The Novgorod region's authorities have allocated 450 hectares of land for the new city on the bank of the Shelon River 55 kilometers from Novgorod.

Kollist told BNS that "Estonia takes great interest in the plans and considers them seriously." The parties agreed today that MCG will in the nearest future present a detailed program for the construction of the city and the resettlement to the Estonian authorities.

"The initial plans provide for the resettlement of up to 1,200 Russian military and their families," Kollist said.

Yuri Korkin, the president of Pakri, told BNS in October the city of Nevsk will become a "21st-century city" with decent living conditions and state-of-the-art communications and technologies.

The planners intend to build mainly agricultural processing enterprises and timber and building materials factories in Nevsk, and develop grain growing and cattle raising in collective farms in the surrounding areas.

According to the project, industrial enterprises will be located on the left bank of the Shelon, and the residential districts and service enterprises on the right bank of the river.

Pakri and MCG intend to invite capital and companies from several countries, including Estonia, to participate in building the new city.

The city's inhabitants will be the Russian military and their families who leave Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, to begin with, and, later, all who wish to live there. According to Pakri's plans, the resettlers will have to make a small down payment; they then move into comfortable apartments and pay the rest of the sum over the years. Pakri promises to provide jobs for all residents of the city.

Latvia

Birkavs Seeks To Discuss Skrunda With Yeltsin

WS1712120493 Tallinn BNS in English 1014 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, Dec 17, BNS—Latvian Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs said Wednesday's [15 December] statement on conditions for Russia's withdrawal of its troops from Latvia made by the head of the Russian delegation at the Latvian-Russian talks do not reflect Moscow's position on the issue.

This is clear from information that came from Moscow on Thursday, Birkavs told BNS. He did not, however, name the source of the information.

Russian delegation leader Sergei Zotov said on Wednesday that Russia would pull out all its troops from Latvia by August 31, 1994, only if it were allowed to keep its radar station at Skrunda.

Latvian Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs said Zotov had already made similar statements in the past. Andrejevs did not link Wednesday's statement to the results of Russia's parliamentary election.

The foreign minister said the future of the Skrunda radar station should be the main issue at the forthcoming meeting between the presidents of the two nations.

Commission Displeased With Army's Condition

WS1612144593 Tallinn BNS in English 1003 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, Dec 15, BNS—A parliament's commission criticized the combat-readiness, military discipline, shooting skills and physical training of Latvian soldiers after a recent spot check in military units.

Latvian Defense Forces Commander Dainis Turlais arrived in his post 50 minutes after a training alarm was announced.

Three staff officers came more than an hour later, while some others "rushed in" with a four hour delay. The reconnaisance chief and several senior officers totally neglected the alarm.

The group also found serious violations of discipline with the Defense Forces, resulting in 21 deaths in 21 months.

The average death toll in the Latvian Army is even higher than in the Soviet Army, said MP [member of parliament] Odisejs Kostanda, the chief of the commission.

"The Latvian Defense Forces, in fact, are not ready to fight with a numerically equal enemy," said a conclusion by the commission.

Cmdr. Dainis Turlais has until March 1 to avert the mentioned shortcomings, Kostanda told reporters.

Lithuania

Jursenas, Parliamentary Delegation Visit Poland

WS1712112393 Tallinn BNS in English 1909 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 16, BNS—A Lithuanian parliamentary delegation, led by Parliament Chairman Ceslovas Jursenas, began Dec. 16 a two-day visit to Poland.

The Lithuanian delegation met Thursday [16 December] with the speaker of the Polish Sejm, Jozef Oleksy, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, members of parliamentary factions and the parliamentary foreign affairs committee.

On Friday, Jursenas is scheduled to make a speech in the Polish parliament and to hold talks with Polish Foreign Minister Iwo Byczewski.

The Lithuanian side also expects to accelerate the preparation of the Lithuanian-Polish agreement on friendship and cooperation, which remains unsigned through sharp disagreements on the historical interpretation of the 1920 annexation of Vilnius and its region by Poland.

Oleksy told the Lithuanian press on the eve of the visit that the accord can be concluded sooner if it is not related to history.

He also noted that Poland should make more effort to be trusted by Lithuanians. Oleksy reportedly said "there has been too much protectionism until now and partners were treated with arrogance. There must be no such thing because Lithuania is an equal partner."

Oleksy, Others Comment

LD1612223093 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] A Lithuanian Seimas delegation began their visit in Poland today with a conversation with Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy which lasted almost one and a half hours.

Oleksy told journalists after the meeting that this was the first visit by the chairman of the Lithuanian Seimas for 202 years. It is very important for Lithuanian-Polish relations and is taking place at an important time when

both countries are advancing along the path of democracy and [word indistinct] and striving for integration in Europe. We discussed the prospects for cooperation not only between parliaments, but also between the two countries and agreed to strive for the signing of an interstate treaty as soon as possible. We also discussed the situation in Russia.

Lithuanian Seimas Chairman Ceslovas Jursenas noted that this first meeting in Warsaw was very productive and other important meetings may take place shortly. They will step up rapprochement between Lithuania and Poland.

In the morning the guests from Lithuania met with Leszek Moczulski, chairman of the Presidium of the Polish Sejm Commission for Relations with Countrymen Abroad and chairman of the Polish Independent Confederation, and other members of the commission. It was proposed that a meeting of Lithuanian Poles and Polish Lithuanians should be organized.

Asked to describe the law on Polish national minorities which is being prepared, Moczulski said he believes that Lithuanians in Poland and Poles in Lithuania will be loyal citizens of their countries and will contribute to the normalization of relations between both nations.

In the afternoon the Lithuanian delegation met with Polish Vice Premier Aleksander Luczak and leaders of various parliamentary groups.

Changes in Talks With Russia Criticized

WS1612144193 Tallinn BNS in English 1003 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 15, BNS—Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas changed the object of negotiations by dissolving the delegation for talks with Russia and setting up a working group for talks with the CIS, says MP Romualdas Ozolas, former member of the delegation.

At a press conference Wednesday [15 December], the lawmaker noted that the delegation's deliberate dissolution is "a chargeable action."

Ozolas said the former delegation was supposed to agree on troop withdrawal and on damage compensation to Lithuania, and thus did not fulfill all of its tasks. "Allegations that troop withdrawal completed the delegation's task, is a deliberate statement that the problem damage compensation is given up."

The former negotiator said it is hard to imagine that the CIS, as a new partner in negotiations, would assume responsibility for the damage done to Lithuania by the former Soviet Union. Friendly relations cannot be established until the occupation country returns the property seized and compensates for the damage done during the occupation, "not to mention the extermination of the nation," he said.

MP Egidijus Jarasiunas, also a former negotiator, said the delegation often opposed the interests of different state institutions because "the delegation saw the general picture of relations," which was much more important than narrow departmental interests. "Russia always wanted to transform interstate talks into departmental talks, and it succeeded in 1993."

The former negotiators said officials responsible for the country's foreign policy do not fulfill their legal and constitutional duties .

The president's "quiet diplomacy" is nothing but "jellyfish heaving," Ozolas said. In his opinion, election results in Russia should convince supporters of this policy to "leave the arena."

The lawmaker did not specify the names of officials who should resign, but noted that there is not enough grounds to start an impeachment process against Brazauskas because "a president is more than just foreign policy."

Commenting on the future of talks with Russia, Ozolas said the newly created working group will negotiate economic matters, such as construction in the Tiumen region of Russia, the Baikal-Amur main line and other such problems. Russia will look after the property left by its army in Lithuania. "Such negotiations will only make Lithuania a debtor, especially after the present elections."

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